

THE ANNALES OF

Scotland in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left,

*being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our
redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie
called Thin.*



Socrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wiselike (as one in all his life wholie giuen to serch and saie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our selues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoued, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre forth as it concerneth the thing done, must needs be true that the same was so done in that order, as it was openlie seene to be done. Whereby might be concluded, that in chonickling and treating of publike affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: bicause we report things done in the eyes of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement.

For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklie done, as with a certeine witherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things done in publike shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saieing, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be com-
mon to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbear to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saieing of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those for soundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publiklie done; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworn to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitdied with promise of gaine or honour, nor inforced to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth, and not that perpetuities or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, bicause the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Ne-
hemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publiklie done, and that they are publiklie done that sort to anie action in the common-
wealth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents done in the common-wealth; bicause that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie done, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therefore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had bene sacrilege for me to haue gaine said. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (speci-
allie at the first in a matter of such importance, than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders. I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vni-
der the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & trulie carping at my bartenes in writing, bicause I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland; & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo. I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselves, besides manie others of our owne nation are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restraint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publiklie knowne to all men, con-
trarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publiklie seene to be done of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vnmeet to enter into the bosome of princes (whose hearts as Salomon saith are vnsearchable) should for my vnaduisednesse seeme worthie the punishment of Prometheus, that stole the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, because the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submitted to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed: thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, went not onelie free from punishment, but receiued eternall reward, as after shall appeare, how much more should Prometheus haue bene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifest that in diuinitie and matters of the soule (a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse) there be manie which haue leapt into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the sonnes of God in writing, and laing abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnsearchable works of the Almighty, whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule; as Enoch was translated to paradise; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to excell in the meanest degree of perfection, were not punished for meddling therein, and writing thereof; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in meddling with the discourse of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and such other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I said) the commandement of such as I durst not gainsaie, interponed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of enuious teongs. For which cause sith I was bound to him by defart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause, whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiser sort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouldst complaine of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing: than that he should mislike of my goodwill in answering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great counsellors and men priue of matters of estate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the singulartie and amplenesse of Platos knowledge in philosophic feare Aristotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lysias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demosthenes? Shall none write histories but Caesar, Liuius, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like? Or shall none deliuer their traueell to the world because they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir Iohn Checke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or Iohn Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the selfe same thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canst not doo either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrennesse of supplieng of things requist for the furnishing and maiestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue bene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all speeches, and desire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I should doo; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated; I answer (besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vnderferued fauour of anie person, and that the first patronne of this Scottish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas) this is a thing by me, so slenderlie done, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue already consecrated my selfe, whatsoever I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie: and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he must go to the shambles to prouide manie sheepes hearts, to bestow vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices: for which causes I may neither chosse a new patronne, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lelless or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue like wise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world as that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled forth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and challenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this sand: that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willingly would: that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and matter equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance therein with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle, and so to the matter after this long and tedious detaining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.



THE CONTINUANCE

of the annales of Scotland, from

the death of the regent Matthew earle of Lennox.



1572.
Lifton lib. 10.
p. 387.
Buchan. lib. 10.

Colen.

The earle of
Mort made
regent of
Scotland.

The earle of Lennox, and his wife, were buried at Seaford (as the state of that same troublesome time would so permit) the noble men which were there present of that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselves for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named three, and those first by common election were the voices of the nobilitie. The three appointed by them were Gillespie Campbell earle of Argyle, James Douglas earle of Morton, and John Areskine earle of Mar. But in the end, upon consultation which of these for most causes (both beneficial and honorable to the realme and king) were most fit to be so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid upon the shoulders of the last of the three, to whom (they whose inclining gave full authority to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Areskine, having nothing more desired to and of him, than the besetting and recovery of the castle and town of Edinburgh (out of the hands of the queens faction) to the use of his master and pupil. Whereby to the last catches of October he was appointed, with a sufficient attente by the last deceased regent his predecessors, he was now hindered thereof by sudden (and unlooked for) troubles of the estates of the realme. Whereupon for that instant, the same was proroged to the last of the said month of October. Which delay was after occasion of great impediment for the recovery of the town, because it ministered time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and captains, to mure and strengthen the castle and town, when the tharpe winter, the long nights, the hard weather for the wars, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therefore (at the same time with the said troubles) occasioned departure from thence, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Certaine moneths after that the regent was gone from thence, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes used amongst them, the whole inclining to neither part. For the first fight a watch out of the castle of Edinburgh (towards

every part of the countrey) is brought, that the queens faction should neither come to hand strokes, nor yet being surprised should be intrapped with the deceits of their enemies: because by a private key (given out of the highest tower of the castle) they were easily warned to retire and draw home ward in convenient time. At which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enemy, when all the horse and footmen were come out of the town to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (having first laid an ambush in the vallie) did not let the rest come before the castle, in hope to traine the towns garrison upon them out of the walls of their defense, which their expectation was not deceived. For the said Edinburghers made hast out of the towne, to pursue the last part of the kings armie, which seemed a private flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castle. By means whereof, they of the towne did so eagerly pursue them so fleeing, that in the end they went so far after their enemies, that they drew nere the ensignes of the other ambush, not knowing themselves out of the battle to rescue their fellows put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceived by the watch of the castle of Edinburgh, forthwith it gave the appointed signe, whereby those on the queens part (before that they came nere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recolle for their better safety; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, because they knew they were in danger, and could not helpe from thence, or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned thereof by the said watch of the towne. In which recolle of the queens part, the few horsemen which had before seemed the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such halt on the backs of the footmen, that the footmen were enforced (with all the speed that might be) to flye unto the citie, the next waie that every man could find for his best defense: at that time yet many of them were wounded, and many taken prisoners, as well captains and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Whilst these things were thus stollie performing, in that the towne of Edinburgh was with no more heat sought to be recovered, a miserable misfortune happened in another part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrey two families of great power and authority, both gallant and wise, both harboring deadly feud of long dated betwene them. These two were of the names of Gordon, and of Foxbois, whereof the first lived with great concord and amitie amongst them-

Skirmishes about Edenborough.

An ambush laid by the kings faction.

The queens part warned by the watch of Edinburgh.

They which late in ambush pursue those that came forth to set upon the kings part.

A conflict betwene the Gordons and the Foxbois.

The Forboises
disagree
among them-
selves.

Arthur For-
boise.

Adam Gor-
don disap-
pointeth the
union of the
Forboises.

Arthur For-
boise slain.

The For-
boises put to
sight.

The house,
great bellied
wife, and chil-
dren of Alex-
ander For-
boise burnt.

The For-
boises receive
aid from the
king.

selves, and by the kings sufferance had many years governed the people adjoining unto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst themselves, and the helpe, of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Forboises were at wars one with another, daile impaired their owne strength by their owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for everie divided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in many years before attempt any open warres the one against the other, rather living in secret emulation, than open enemie, because they had (in waie of some shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families together. Among these Forboises, there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit, and of no lesse trade hand to performe his desire) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his bittermost, from the first time of these disorders. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherein he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & suppress the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to unitie and mutuall love, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compass (as by any possible meanes he would leave no stone unturned that might further it) he was then in so good safetie as he desired. For then was there not any faction or familie in those parts whatsoever, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

For furtherance of which design, when date and place was appointed to assemble the Forboises together, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntley (devising by all policie he might to hinder the same, and having privie intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men unto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemble of the Forboises) to breake off their union. And although there were two troopes of the Forboises, which presently appeared in their sight, yet before they could join their strength, Adam Gordon speedily set upon the one armie (not ready to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise, who being the hope of all that race and now slain, his death did so amaze the other, that forthwith the rest were some querthowne, scattered, and fled each one as he might best shift for himselfe. In which unhappy conflict some persons of name were presentlie killed, and manye others taken and reserved for ransom. Whereupon the residue (feearing more crueltie should be used upon the prisoners, loath to have any more of their race to be cut awaie, and giving place to the time present) withdrew themselves from the fight, and neuer attempted any thing afterward in the reuenge of their querthowne. Which feare and wise suppression of reuenge grew not without just cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were further urged) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his children.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) having his house so spoiled, and himselfe hardly escaping from his enemies hands, hastened to the court, from whence (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be released. For which cause there were appointed two hundred footmen to such of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the adjoining nobilitie to associat themselves to the part of

the Forboises. These thus considered and came together to the rest of the Forboises, with certaine other families of their assistance neighbours, so augmented the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himselfe sufficientlie sented against all the forces of his aduersaries. But as the number increased, so there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to infuse the place of a capteine, whom the rest might follow, with all the principals and heads of the families were almost young men, and scarce one better than others in degree of calling. Wherefore the assembly being drawn into diuerse companies (for they were incited to follow several leaders) John Beth with five hundred horsemen departed to his house not far from thence. Alexander Forboise with a retinue and two hundred footmen went to Aberdeen, to expell Adam Gordon from thence, and to repare his armie in the iournie.

Adam Gordon (not keeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Forboises, and understanding the approach of his enemie so nere with so small company) assembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to seeme the greater. Shortly after, in a field nept adjoining to the towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe conflict was committed betwene them. In which the kings footmen (appointed to the Forboises) desirous (more hastie than wiselie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their shot of powder would continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of their company) they were put to fearful sight by the boldness of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and continued the battell untill night. At that time there were not manye of the vanquished slain, but mostlie taken and reserved as prisoners, amongst which was the said Alexander Forboise taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himselfe against his enemies in the same conflict, to the perpetual glorie of that house.

After the suppression of the Forboises in the north parts, the quenes fauourers were highly incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assembling their power out of diuerse parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of Jedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countie is unwallled and defended, but aneie with the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares past) had strongly resisted the force of the quenes faction. Here unto this towne were neighbours Thomas Car of Fernbergh, and Walter Scot, both which besides their owne retinue had joined unto them the people of the next countries, being Aithdale, Cistart, and Eskine, alwaies troubled with robberie and giuen to spoile, who at that time by the libertie of war stralle without restraint, did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile and catch what they could. Besides whom there were also in Censit (as well by the infection of these countries, as by the custome of spoiling in the wars, for these things were by use made an other nature and privilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin) great families deuailed with such theft and rapines, and not these alone (with this poison had crept almost over all the land) but certeine of the next English parts (being allured with hope of preie, and supposing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) joined together, and (to make their number the greater, and their power the stronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and thientie harquebushers, chosen out of the choicest souldiers, to be assistant unto them.

The inhabitants of Jedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and considering whereunto all this preparation

Walter C.
sent to det
Jedworth

The For-
boises follow
several leaders.
John Beth
departed.
Alexander
Forboise goes
to Aberdeen.

William
Ruthwin
sent a pri-
soner
Dunbar

The For-
boises over-
throwen be-
sides Aber-
deen.

Walter C.
joined to
William
Ruthwin

Jedworth
defended
from assault

The ci-
tation of
Jedworth

Thomas
Car.
Walter Scot.

Buchan, li. 10.

Ruthwin
sent hi
me con-
to Han

The ci-
tation
throm
disper
Haw

Walter Car
sent to defend
Jedworth.

Walter
Car

Walter
Car

Walter
Car

William
Rathwine
with a power
coming to
Dunbar.

Walter Car
with William
Rathwine.

The queenes
faction die a-
sone.

Rathwine
with his ar-
mie cometh
to Hawike.

The queenes
faction over-
throwne and
dispersed at
Hawike.

paration tended) with spædie & featefull messengers
signifie vnto John Arelkine earle of Mar & regent,
the present danger wherein they stood, craving some
succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them,
which forthwith was granted accordingly. Where-
vpon Walter Car of Stefford, being called before
the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid
granted vnto him, as a person who both for balure &
experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such
matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient
number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the
countrie adioining, for that season assembled them-
selues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie
with them at Jedworth. At what time also to strike
more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage
of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies
that William Rathwine with a hundred shot and
certeine horsemen (wherof he brought part with him,
and part he gathered out of the marches adioining)
were at the same time coming to Dunbarge with
the said Rathwine. All which notwithstanding, the
queenes faction trusting to their owne strength con-
sisting in multitude (for they were in number three
thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw to-
wards the towne, to prevent the coming of such
succours as both were promised, looked for, and then
almost at hand. Which being by Rathwine partie
before suspected, he hastened the people with more
spæd to follow them at the heeles, and by continuall
shot weried the taile of his aduersaries with often
assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car also joining vnto him and to his
complices the towne men (readie to defend their
tilles, their goods, their wiues, and their children) toke
the direct waie towards his enemies, to the end the
better to suppress them and their united force. Which
when the aduersary part perceived, forthwith they re-
tired to places of more defense, lest they should incur
their enemies with doubtful battell; and least be-
ing set vpon before and behind, they might be sub-
denlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne
themselves, either to escape, or to prevent the approch-
ing enimie. At what time such as fought after spoile,
and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine,
being now by that means defrauded of their pzeie,
when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and
the kings part readie and stronglie come forth to
battell, lest the field, and departed euery man to his
owne house, as it was needfull to the place where they
then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any oc-
casion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the
rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing
at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would
make vpon them) they also followed after the others,
raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with
the rest of their followers and companie of footmen,
hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the
sharperesse of the winter and late fall of the snow,
which would stae the following of the enimie.

But Rathwine, iudging it best to vse the opportu-
nity of time, did before date so spædie lead his ar-
mie to Hawike; that he was within a mile of his
enemies, before they could by anie means be certi-
fied of his coming. Whose spædie and vnlooked for
approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts
of those which possessed Hawike, that there was no
place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that e-
uerie one should lift for himselfe as well as he
might. Wherevpon suddenlie bringing forth their
horses and footmen, and following the course of the
next riuer, they attempted so withdraw into places
of more safetie for themselves, and further from
their enemies. But the horsemen of Rathwine spe-
die following at their heeles, so prevented their de-

uile, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all
the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Vpon which the footmen being thus left to the
spoil and pzeie of their enemies, did for their more
safegard hide themselves in a little wood adioining
to the said riuer. In which, being directede firste be-
set with the force of their aduersaries (suddenly determind
to pzeie vpon them) they did in the end wholly yield
themselves with submission to their courtesie. Where-
vpon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their
number was ouer great to be caried about from
place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon
their oath to returne and become true prisoners) suf-
fered harmlesse of bodie, and losselesse of furniture
to depart, some few being still retained in that place
as pledges for the others departed companie. But
when the time of their returne approached, Rathwine
die, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, for-
bad them to returne at their daie appointed, and
made them incur the note of perjurie. The rest of
the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth
with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings
and queenes factions, in which few lost their liues,
and of that few more on the queenes than kings part.
For the queenes fauourers, remaining in the moun-
teins next adioining to the citie, whilst they would
take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing
well, would scarce entring into the danger of the
conflict for the most part retire and lie with the citie
for more defense.

In the meane time, whilst these things were thus
ordered, there came manie ambassadoes out of Eng-
land, to pacifie these discords growne to these great
extremities, betwene the king and the imprisoned
queenes factions. But the same ambassage so well
meant by the queene of England, and reidded by the
seditions of Scotland, sorted not to that end which
was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required.
Wherefore these ambassadoes returned home with-
out anie such dispatch as might answer their tra-
uels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnite of
that quarrellsome people: by reason that the French-
men fauouring the cause of the banished queene, did
not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots,
for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres
for the destruction of they naturall subiects, and to
bring in their owne gouernement; who for the furthe-
rance thereof, did with great promises intertaine the
apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kinde and
mainteine the fire of continuall warre, untill such
time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and
brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the
better support wherof, the French king sent some
portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or
such as their necessitie required, seemed rather suffi-
cient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the
warres, than fullie to dispatch or despayre the charges
of the affaires therein; and that the rather, because
some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such
as had the cariage thereof.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a
few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little pur-
pose betwene the aduersary parties. But the greater
companie, who could not satifie their eagles minds
with little sles, abstained not from robbing and bur-
ning the countrie. For Adam Gordon, entring into
Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglas
of Glenberrie; but after that long bessege, percei-
uing that the man whome he sought for, was not to
be found there, he cruellie destroyed all whatsoever
there was left, consuming it with fire and sword.
Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression in-
to the hearts of those of Dundee, that they despairing
of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their
p. p. p.

Rathwine
causeth the
prisoners not
to returne at
their daie ap-
pointed.

Ambassadoes
out of Eng-
land.

The French
king sendeth
monie into
Scotland.

Adam G-
don entred
Angus, and
besieged the
house of Wil-
liam Dow-
glas.

Thep of Dun-
dee crane
and out of
f. f.

neighbours of life unto their aid; Altho they were next adjoining unto them, unto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enimie continuallie in all that possible he might, because they constantlie and subiect like did in all dutie support the kings part.

Blacknesse
betrayed.

At which time Blacknesse being betrayed to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that castell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and passage betwene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that heedfullie looked into the dangers of that time, and with wise foresight sought to prevent following evils, brake downe all the mills about Edenburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons nere unto the towne, and closed vp all passage to and from the citie. For now there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed quene were taken prisoners, put to their ransome, compelled to abjure their faction, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

Edenburgh
mills broken.

Prisoners
taken both on
the king and
quenes part.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed quenes faction contending still to support their parts, the matter did dailye more and more grow to great slaughters: which being well perceived by forreine nations (pitieing the present calamities, and seeking to prouide to staie the following dissention of that countrie which was like to be at hand vpon these ciuill and unnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) the quene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king also the confederat of Scotland, sent their ambassadoys into the realme, to see what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minority; hoping either to let a finall end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staie that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minoritye passe any further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Durié knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the quene of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also bene ambassadoy out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

The quene
of England &
the French
king send am-
bassadoys into
Scotland.

These much about one time arriving in Scotland, and ioining together concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectuallie therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betwene the parties of the king and quenes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue vntill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarrels to be set downe by the quene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambassadoys returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Durié and maister Randolph into England.

An abstinence
of warre for
a time.

Sir William
Durié and
maister Ran-
dolph go into
Scotland.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sicknesse (as some affirme) but Lesleus faith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit*) being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, about foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the earldome succeeded John erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which John Arskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Marrie daughter to the lord of Tullebarton, by whom he had issue this John, which succeeded him in the earldome of Marre (as is before said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglas now earle of Angus: but he died without issue. Of which deceased Arskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour

The death of
the earle of
Marre.

of the said earle in this forme and maner following:

*Si quis Arskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore vtroque pium;
Si quis opes sine fustis, animum sine fraude carentem,
Rebus in ambiguis suspitione fidem,
Siquis ob has dotes, sacra iactata procellis,
Figit in illius patria fissa pedem:
Pera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit:
Istud & proprium est, longæ quod in ordine vitæ
Nil odium aut linor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

10

Vpon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succede in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Morton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, god seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the charge. After whose election, the two princes, the English quene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadoys to the regent and states of Scotland: which ambassadoys were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Meracke for France. But as monsieur de Meracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and vpon the sea in his iourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could attaine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongst the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come forth of England from that prince, whome religion, blood, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolve themselves, that both the affection, aswell of the yong king, and of the imprisoned quene, should referre themselves to the quene of England, to make a finall conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Earle Mor-
ton made re-
gent.

Maister Hen-
rie Killigrew
sent into
Scotland.

40

Wherevpon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In februarye following the new creation of this regent Morton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Johns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieing the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the quene of England should by hir ambassadoy, set a quiet end and order amongst them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordinglye, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edenborough: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretaire Aldington, the lord Massalrege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons metellie well inured therewithall, would not consent to anye peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned quenes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare.

An assemble
at saint
Johns towne.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue bene crediblie informed, there was a parliament called at Edenborough to begin the fifteenth of January, in which were assembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Castels,

1573
A parliament
at Edenbo-
rough.

sels, Eglinton, Mountrose, and young Sparthall, for the earle Sparthall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindsie, Clames, Simple, Boid, Sparthall, Harris, Craie, Duffant, Sinclair, Forbush, Ca-part, Ochiltre, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the boroughs of Edenborough, Strueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glasgow, Lethgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemble were chosen for to be lords and judges, to determine the articles propounded in that parliament, the earles of Argyle, Glenearne, and Mountrose, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsie, Boid, Simple, and Harris, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Mkenzie, the abbats of Aberbozth, Dunfermling, Canbushketh, and Petobottle, besides the prior of saint Marie Ile and Portinsake, which were also adioined unto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parliament holden at Edenborough the 25 of Januarie.

- 1 **T**he approbation and ratification of the regiment.
- 2 Annent the true and holie kirke, and deterring of the true ministers & members thereof.
- 3 That name of the aduersaries and enemies of Gods truth shall inioie the patrimonie of the kirke.
- 4 That like of the disobedients as shall be receiued to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrees and execution of the council of Trent.
- 5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet baile during the kings minority.
- 6 Annent recovering of the jewels, household stuffe, munition, and moueables, such as sometime were the quhens the kings mother, to his highnesse vse and behoofe.
- 7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the invaliditie of all things attemptid in anie name, and vnder color of quhat soeuer other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.
- 8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhens maiestie of England, for the defense of forren inuasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be dyatone into the same.
- 9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annent masse and glebis.
- 10 Annent the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet bulls or prouision to benefices with antedats.
- 11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie counsell, made in the reigne of the quhene the kings mother, annent the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.
- 12 Annent execution against persons excommunicat.
- 13 Annent the reparation of parish kirks.
- 14 Annent proceeding in cause of priuile.
- 15 Annent the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.
- 16 A confirmation of the infeffment of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasgowe. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parliament, there was the same aduise given to the regent, touching the receiving to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delateng of purgite of the murder of the

kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought god to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of which session of this parliament, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance happened after the said sixteenth of Januarie. For ^{about Edinburgh} Edinburgh castell being somewhat distressed, the ^{about Edinburgh} castilians were put from salleng out of the castell gate, where capteine Craisford, and capteine Hume late with their hands to keepe them in. Notwithstanding all which, they within repaired vnto a po-sterne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and set water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enemies, capteine Michaele and his band came from Dondishe to stop their passage thereto. Who within thre daies after such his approach, destroyed their well, and enforced them to keepe within the wals of the castell: at that time the regent advanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulwark or spur of that castell to the well part: and from thence, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the south-westside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholis inuironed. During which siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forrenamed parliament kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourscore and seven great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poze dog that was slaine before the doore of the regents house: although men, women, and children did daillie frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Januarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) aboue six persons, and within the castell but thre, with as manie hurt betwene the tolbooth and the spur of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thre traueses made ouerthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fenced with a rampier forced of turkes, sagots, and other stuffe fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parliament did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quiettie and safelie to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

During which doings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the lute of the ambassadors of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentieth of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the said ambassadors for an accord to be had betwene the king and imprisoned quenes faction. Wherevpon sir James Balford came to the regents grace, obtained pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agreement. The earle of Argyle was advanced to the honour of the chancellorship. And Alexander Areskine master of Sparre was appointed to haue the keeping of the kings person vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure sureties, lords of the parliament, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fifteene daies appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he would enter into so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolved and concluded, that the earles of Glenearne and Bughan,

Sir James Balford submitteth himselfe to the regent. Officers created.

James Bir-
cawdie en-
tereth Eden-
borough cas-
tell.

1573

The taking
of Edenbo-
rough castell
by the Eng-
lish and the
regent of
Scotland.

quhan, the lord Glanes, and master Sparshall should have the keeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anie of the four should happen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindsay should be assistant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Bircaudie arrived in the Blackenelle in a small pinnelle, and entered the castell of Edenborough, with such shoute as he had provided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassaged and intrenched both by sea and land, and was the cause that capitaine Buse sallient forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to provide vittells, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would do.

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the quene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots his cousine, thus grievously molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quene of England sent a powter of sixtene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, over whom sir William Duri knight and marshall of Berwike was made general, with such capitains as follow; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capitains, as Head, Parleie, Wood, Wyckwell, Piskeman, Gam, Cale, Carew, Errington prouost marshall, Ashol, Sterleie capitaine of the pioners, and capitaine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carle, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tresuroz of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Belwaite, Dier, Tilneie, William Killegrew, a manie other gentlemen of good estimation did asociate themselves with convenient number to attend upon them. These with their general passed from Berwike to Leith, where they met with maister Henrie Killegrew the quene of Englands ambassadoz, whose care, travell, & furtherance at that time deserved no small commendation; and with the Scottish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioinie with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as took part with the deposed quene. Which Scottish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kindred, and such as favoured the yong king, distressed by the deposed quene, as was pretended. After the iointing of these two nations, they on the five and twentieth of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same daie sir William Duri the general summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

The summons giuen to the castell of Edenborough.

Sir William Bircaudie, sometimes of Grange knight, forsomuch as the quens maiestie my soueraigne ladie, upon the earnest request of hir deere cousin the king of Scots your soueraigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes bled to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not duly harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the truestall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning

(as it seemeth) to reserve the same for a receptacle of foren forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my soueraigns; and therefore necessarie to remove so perillous a danger to both the realmes, for which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition under my charge and leading, for the erpugnation and recoverye of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoofe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due manner to waite, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, Jewels, household stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoofe of the king your soueraigne and his regent in his name, immediately after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obey, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, counsell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your lines, &c: otherwile, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the vttermost, and holden as enemies to hir maiestie, your owne soueraigne, and countrie. Given at Edenborough by me sir William Duri knight general of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this five and twentieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573.

This letter by the lord Grange capitaine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their blood, did vnterlie denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselves. Wherewith the English general greatlie grieved, did incontinently redeluer such answer to the said lord Grange as wrought an vtter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and ereading of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie thereupon against the castell. After which euerie one hastening the cause of his comming, & iointing their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in five severall places, where were five severall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the general thereof the English sir William Duri did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carle, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fifth fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie under pale was two thousand, whereof sixtene hundred were English, and the other five hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie peeces of artillerie containing six canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and six factes. Whilist the armie with out was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capitaine of the castell (to hinder their worke) liberalite saluted the pioners & other soldiors with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and upon and about the walles thereof, whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerse part forgot not to requite the castilians, but mostlie after that the pioners and laboers had finished

then the mounts. At what time they gave the assault and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the enterprise beat thereof began not untill the twentieth date of Aprile following. In which siege on the said twentieth date of Aprile, the castell was most strongly assailed by the shot of canons discharged against the same. At what time those forces so well performed their parts against David Stewart, that the forces of the English remained in ease to be then and long after seen there in. Which assault continued untill the one and twentieth date of Aprile following; on which date the whole batterie began not againe as before against part; but whole round about on every side of the castell. For untill then David Stewart was on the mark of the enemy; but after that date they laid out their power in every place, offensive and defending by others soldiers, as well within the castell as without the moines and trenches; in that sharpe condia hunting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be great, that they forthwith displaced the watchmen in the castell, and strooke one of their greatest peeces fast in the moine, whereby the same was broken; and the castilians force somewhat abated.

At this, on the six and twentieth date of the said month of Aprile, there was a fresh assault given at seven of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defence or blockhouse before the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith upon the entrance there in was the banner of the generall displayed and set up; to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the use of one of their great peeces; that their wailes were battered, that some of their men were slain; that they had almost all their water taken from them; yet would they not yield, neither did anye thing begin to despayre of keeping the castell; or repelling the enemy; untill such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

After this, during the time that these gave the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make the way of a fresh assault; at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as laid batterie to the Spurre, might be more ease to themselves; and lesse suspicion of themselves part, obtaine the said Spurre. But this last named band; over hastie putting themselves in adventure beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and driven to the recoile, with the hurt and losse of thirtie persons, or thereabouts. All which notwithstanding; the castilians (perceiving their chiefest defense the Spurre to be lost, and not great the restoring of this small victorie over those which assailed them on the west side) did the same daie by a humane demand parley: which they obtained with truce of peace from that date, untill the eight and twentieth of Aprile next following. For which cause the lord of Pittarvot was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lord of Orange, capitaine of the said castell, with Robert Melvill; all which came to have conference with the generall Sir William Dornie; & such other persons as were then sent to accompanie him about the same. In the end, upon much conference had betwene the Scottish lords and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth daie (in which the truce ended) delivered by into the hands of the said Sir William Dornie, which he kept in his possession for a certaine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set up and spread his ensignes and banners upon sundrie parts of the walls of the same.

This done, the generall (after quiet possession had,

not determining to retaine it unto his mistresse use, although he was, onelic appointed by him to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as took his part) did after (according to his commission) deliver over the same castell to the use of the young king of Scots; for which cause not meaning utterly to spoile the castell, he gave but part of the spoile to the use of the soldiers, leaving the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrender of the castell it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by composition, that then they should whole have moied the full spoile by the space of three dates, the artillerie onelic excepted, which should be carried away by the English. But although for these causes following, the same could not abide any long siege, but must of necessity yield it selfe; there was everie part of the said spoile given unto the soldiers upon the deliverie of the same castell to Sir William Dornie. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were deprived of water, because the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell walls; & the other well without could not serve them, because there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was unknowne to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre; out of which they were wont to have a pint a daie for everie souldier. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie, diverse persons were sicke, especiallie thorough drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had bene poisoned by some of their enemies.

Thirdlie, diverse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anye rest, being so pined and dailie wearied with batterrie.

Fiftlie, diverse of the souldiers divided in opinions.

Sixtly, some were no souldiers at all.

Seaventhly, that no aid was to be looked for by the waile of France.

The eight and chiefest cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the horsemen dailie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and took from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began. All these eight causes moved the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixtenth date of June following, the prisoners were delivered by the said Sir William Dornie, in the presence of sundrie Scots & Englishmen, unto the regent; and that done, the same date Sir William Dornie departed with his power to Berwick. The names of the prisoners were these; Sir William Kirkcaldie lord of Orange, and capitaine of the castell of Denbrough, the lord Hume, William Spetellan, lord of Leithington secretarie, the lord of Pittarvot constable of the castell, the countesse of Argyle, the ladie of Leithington and the ladie of Orange, with others. But yet the privat soldiers & others of meaner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Denbrough wone, as you have heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; inasmuch as manie thought it took the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not bene wone at any time before except by famine or practise. Which opinion being common is so much the faller, in that the common sort do embrace it, for that they lustie incline to common fables. For this castell was not named the maiden castell, because it was never taken.

ken by force: but because the princes of the town were there notwithstanding, as male well appears by that which I shall set down touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof: of which there be diverse opinions. For some will have it to be built by Eboracus, or some called Eboracius king of Brittaines, called also in British Castle mynir Agnes, the castle of saint Agnes hill, afterward the castle of the giths. But Lelless will have it built long after the time of H. Eloid, by the space of the hundred fiftie score and four years, for thus he writeth. *Chronica Cornubianum primarum. Pictorum urbem & Agnedam populi Eboracensis ab Ebo quondam rege diti. Hinc populi Eboracensis, ubi reges & nobilissimi Pictorum filii & duci regis sui darentur, servituri & praesentibus ad hunc usque diem tenebant.* A little before which, the said Lelless writeth that Jergolus was a little before Christ in carmen aduentum 305, & that he was a little before the time of the Emperour Constantine. Now this king Constantine that built Agnesda, lived before Christ thre hundred and five years by the Scots account, and Eborac or Eboracius lived nine hundred four score & nine years before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Lelless hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Canieodundin in Scotland: so hath he appointed Edinburgh to be built by the Scots, being built by the Brittaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being at the space of the hundred four score and four years wasted and utterly decayed, the same was newly erected by Constantine, and after repaired by Christ. The castle of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing up of the daughters of the noblemen of the Isles, untill they were marriageable, was for that cause (and not because it was never home by force) called the maiden castle, as the said Lelless affirmeth. But after, when Constantine came into Scotland, it was called (as I conjecture) Agnedda, because it was the castle that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the coming of Christ so called Agneba, as hitherto it hath bene set downe, but not rightly: as I have with reverence speake under correction of such as by better authoritie can disprove that I saie.

Humphred, Eloid, in brevis. Brit. I. Stow.

Lelless lib. 2. pag. 84.

Camptenus in Scotia saith ab Eboraco Britanno aut ab Helio Picto Edinburgum deducere quid aliud est quam serid inepet

1574

The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 3.

The Scots repelled their enemies at Bonnell.

But here let us a little leave the countie of Scotland, and touch things as were there then done, and take somwhat of the persons of that realme, who performed matter of valour in foreign countries. Whilste the towne of Leiden was strongly besieged (in the moneth of June) and that the townesmen (having a needfull and heedfull care) were altogether imployed about making of provision of all such things as were deemed necessarie for the defense of the same towne, the principall part of the commandatois were arrived in Bonnell quarters, Dorcon, and Lowestein. Howbeit the prince and the estates of the low countries made no great account thereof, by reason that Bonnell (which was well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars) was under the custodie of capitaine Balfoure, cornet of the Scottishmen, who had there attending on him the number of Leiden Scottish chivalries. Which Scots desirous to performe some matter of valour, daile sallied out of the towne with some of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders; in which often meeting they valiantlie skirmished with the enemies. Whereby in the end amongst the most notable conflicts there were made warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deserved not to be forgotten: as well for that they often repelled the enemies, and kept their strength together; as for that they being few in number, adventured (beyond the hope of good hap) by encountering with a greater troope of such as came

against them, than they were themselves: either to returne victorie, or to lose their lives: as you shall see after which also the same Scots continuing in those towne, did much, performed many other notable matters of valour, exploits, which I shall set downe in this place. For which cause having denoted some of the Scots, whom these notable chiefest comenly such things as might supply the want of sufficient matter of Scotland to furnish the same, and so that I have bene persuaded of the performance of some notable matters by some of the persons of that nation, who by their valour sought to maintain the same, and for clearing some truth or opinion conceived against them of their actions in their own countie, should have sought to further me in the so my labour: I must leave things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places, producing matters to help my purpose, which I have before set downe: as the Scots in the same low countries, where they were then in service against the Spaniards, under the paye of the prince of Orange, in that which I have before set downe. These Scots therefore returning in those countries, serving under the command of their cornet named Balfoure, did in Januarie set forth to meet with the Spaniards at a place called the shotdale, distant not much more than a mile from the edge, where was a long and sharpe confluence between these two nations. In which by the industrie of battell for the most part shewing victorie unto the stronger souldiers at multitudes of them were left dead in the place, and the rest by the same themselves by flight from their enemies: who yet felt not this hurt, but so that they were againe full, but that the last manie of their people before the Scots were put to the sword. What leading these Scots in the middle of the wars of these countries under the prince of Orange, he was to come to other matters following by succession of time: which hath delivered to us that Spargal the daughter & heire of the noble Douglas, earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the year of our redemption 1577, beginning the year of the incarnation of the virgin which labie being bought at Harlewell chiefe in England in the year of Christ 1575, was after ward brought up in England, and then being paidie advanced in the eight and twentieth year of king Henrie the eight, being the year of Christ 1576, to Thomas Howard youngest brother to the duke of Norfolk, he was that year committed prisoner to the tower, but after set at libertie the last of October, in the nine and twentieth year of king Henrie the eight, in the year 1577, & married to Arthur Steward earle of Lincoln by the consent of Henrie the eight king of England, in the year of our salvation 1574. After which, being tossed with both fortunes, sometime in adversity, sometime in prosperitie, he was notwithstanding alwaies honorable interested in England, as both his birth in respect of his kinglie blood, and his calling in respect of his place, might well deserve. In the end, to cut off all his other adventures, and to draw to things falling in mine own knowledge, he was on the two and twentieth of April in the year 1575 (upon the marriage of his sonne Henrie Steward lord Darnleye unto Marie Steward queene of Scots) commanded by the queene of England first to keepe his chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where he remained untill the two and twentieth daie of June next ensuing, and was then by sir Francis Knolles (one of the prime counsell and vicechamberlaine to the queene of England) and by some other of the gard conveyed to the towne of London by water, in which place he remained prisoner untill that

1576
The Scots denie their furtherance to the writing of the annales of Scotland.

The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 4.

The Scots put to flight besides Aign

1577

Some part of the life of Margaret Douglas.

I. Stow.

that his sonne the said Henrie Steward was miserable and traitorously slaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as some affirme, but how true I know not) upon the twentieth of februarye one thousand five hundred thre score & six. In which yeare, on the two and twentieth of the same moneth, the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the towre and set at libertie, who still remaining in England did (as before is said) in the thre score & second yeare of his age, and in the first yeare of his widow-
 hood, surrender his soule to God, being most hono-
 rable buried & answerable to his calling in the great
 chapell of Westminster (built by Henrie the seventh
 king of England) among the kings of that realme
 in an inward chapell standing on the right & the
 southside of the said great chapell. The yeare before
 whose death his sonne Charles Steward earle of
 Lennox (having before married Elisabeth the daugh-
 ter of sir William Candish, by whome he had issue
 Arbella) did also depart this life. Over the bodies of
 both which persons, Thomas Fowler executor to the
 said ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the said
 ladie erect a coslie and statelie toorne of rich stone
 and curious workmanship, with the picture of that
 ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might
 afford it, about which monument is grauen this me-
 morable epitaph declaring his nobilitie, as insueth.
 At the head of the toorne is set downe

Memoria sacrum.

*Margareta Douglasie, Matthei Stuarti Levinia comitis
 uxori, Henrici septimi Anglie regis ex filia nepti, potentijs
 regibus cognatione conjunctissima, Jacobi sexti regis auia,
 matrone sanctijs, moribus, & innata animi patientia, in-
 comparabili P.*

Obijt Marty decimo Anno

Domini 1577.

On the right side of which toorne is
 this ingrauen.

*Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu
 Regibus ac proavis nobilitata suis:
 Inde Calidonijs australibus, inde Britannijs
 A edita principibus, principibusque parens:
 Qua mortis fuerant soluit latissima mortis,
 Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to
 James the first now king. This Henrie was murde-
 red at the age of one and twentie yeares. Charles
 the yongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the
 late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie
 yeares, and is here intombed.

On the left side of the toorne
 is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to his great grandfather king Ed-
 ward the fourth, to his grandfather king Henrie the
 seventh, to his uncle king Henrie the eight, to his co-
 sine germane king Edward the first, to his brother
 king James of Scotland the first, to his sonne king
 Henrie the first, to his grandchild king James the
 first, having to his great grandmother and grandmo-
 ther two queens both named Elisabeth, to his mo-
 ther Margaret queene of Scots, to his aunt Marie
 the French queene, to his coulines germane Marie
 and Elisabeth queens of England, to his neere and
 daughter in law Marie queene of Scots.

At the foot of his toorne is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of
 Lennox, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Dolo-
 glasie earle of Angus, by Margaret queene of Scots
 his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie
 the seventh, which bare unto Mattheu earle of Len-
 nox his husband, four sonnes and four daughters.]

Which honourable toorne, with these super-
 scriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished
 in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun

and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Mar-
 garet. This ladie being (as before is the web) coun-
 tess of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to
 declare in this place, what became of both the said
 earledoms, as well in his life, as after his and his
 sonne Charles his death. Touching Angus, this ladie
 Margaret, upon the marriage of his son Henrie lord
 Darnley, which was solemnized the nine and twen-
 tith daie of Julie 1565, to Marie queene of Scots;
 did give the said earledome with all the rights and
 members thereof unto the said queene Marie, to dis-
 pose as fell best unto his liking. Whereupon the said
 queene bestowed that honour and earledome upon
 Archibald Douglasie countess to the said ladie Mar-
 garet: who being exiled, was here in England at
 the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennox, after
 the slaughter of Mattheu earle of Lennox (husband
 to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth
 of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571;
 but 1572 as hath Lelless, was inuested in Charles
 James the first king of Scotland, heire in blood to
 the said Mattheu earle of Lennox, father to Henrie
 lord Darnley (that married the queene) father to the
 said James the first. Whereupon the yong king,
 mindfull of the advancement of his uncle Charles
 sonne to the said Margaret, did inuest the said Charles
 with the honour of the said earledome of Lennox,
 which Charles died in the life of his mother Margare-
 ret without heire male, by reason whereof the said
 earledome reverted to the crowne.

But here leaving the title and succession of the
 earles of Lennox to an other place following (sith I
 am entered into the discourse of such of the earles
 & countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better
 in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph
 of Mattheu earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as
 is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For al-
 though the same matter would more aptlie have
 bene placed before at the end of the historie of
 Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the begin-
 ning of my continuance of the annales of that
 countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle:
 yet sith the note of that epitaph came not unto my
 hands, untill I had thus farre proceeded in the histo-
 rie; and the same also at that time passed the print
 (whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I
 will here (having so good occasion therfore) intreating
 of the toorne of his wife (whose charge also wanted
 not in erecting of this toorne of his slaine husband,
 and for that this doth also touch some part of his epi-
 taph) insert the same in this place after this maner,
 as it is written upon the statelie toorne of the said
 Mattheu Lennox, and now standing in the chapell
 within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Mattheu earle of Lennox.

Lo here a prince and potentate,
 whose life to vnderstand,
 Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,
 though from his native land
 His enemies thrice did him out thring,
 he thrice returned againe,
 Was lawfull tutor to the king,
 and regent did remaine:
 Where he with rigor rebels rackt,
 the right for to defend,
 Till enemies old through tyrans trackt,
 did worke his fatall end.
 Lo thus respects the death no wight,
 When God permits the time,
 Yet shall the vengeance on them light
 that wrought that cursed crime.

Besides which also on the same toorne are these
 herofall verses set downe, declaring his name, his
 descent, his marriage, his issue, his offices, and such o-
 ther

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,
Matthew of Lennox earle,
Who long of late in Britaine soile,
did liue a pearlesse pearle.
And as he was of roiall bloud,
by roiall progenie,
From Stewards stocke of ancient time,
princes of Albanie:
His fortune was euen so to match,
with passing vertuous wight,
Whose race deriued from famous kings,
of wider renowned might.
His mother queene of Scotland was,
and eldest daughter deare,
Of Henrie seuenth English king,
a princelie mirror cleare.
Hir father earle of Angus was,
the ladie Margaret hight,
The onelie heire of Angus lands,
and all his fathers right.
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,
for both by grace diuine
Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.
And diuerse goodlie impes there were,
that issued from them twaine:
Charls James now king, and * Charls the earle
of them dooth still remaine,
King Henrie father to this king,
their first begotten sonne:
Oh cruell fates! the which so soone,
his vitall dired vnsponne,
By whose deuise the grandfire came,
lord regent in this land:
And noblie bare the regall sword
of iustice in his hand.
Whereby he did in tender age
of the kings maiestie,
This realme protect with fortitude,
prudence and equitie.
But now dame fame with flickering wings
withouten anie let,
Shall spread abroad this worthie man,
and through the world him set.
And tearing time shall not consume,
nor weare the fame awaie,
But with the worthiest reckned be,
vntill the latter daie.
After which time, eternitie
dooth triumph then by right:
Where he with angels shall reioise,
in Gods eternall fight.

Besides which English epitaph these verses were
also composed by Buchanan vpon the same earle of
Lennox, wherein is not onelie set doone (as before)
the honourable birth of the man, but also some of the
places of his education, with other things which
right fortunatie happened vnto him in this sort.

*Regis aui, regis pater, alto e sanguine regum
(Imperio quorum terra Britannia subest)
Matheus, genus Launius, Gallia fouit,
Pulso Anglus thalamum remig, decusq, dedit.
Capi inuicta manu, famam virtutis refelli,
Arma armis vici, consiliisq, dolos.
Gratus in ingratos: patriam iustisq, pieq,
Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi.
Chare * nepos spes vna domus, meliore senectam
Attinere as futo, cetera dignam aui.*

* James the
first king
of Scots.

Thus setting end to the lines & deaths of this Mat-
thew Steward erle of Lennox, of Margaret Dow-
glas his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to
their sumptuous sepulchres, we will come backe a-
gaine to such others, either generall or speciall, acci-

dents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland,
and which will touch the vniuersall gouernement, or
the particular occurrents as well of Scottish as of o-
ther forreyn affaires managed by them at home, or
in other countries, therewithall ioining the discoure
of such things as haue bene performed by other na-
tions in that kingdome. Amongst which accidents in
Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Mor-
ton surrendered his protectozship or regentship of
the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I make
10 two thylle count rare, sith men in so great authoritie
of commanding all persons, can hardlie be brought
to giue ouer such honour, and to yeld themselves to
the commandment of others, because *Qui primatus*
sui auctoritatem perdit, in despectionem & angustiam se mit-
tit: qui autem locum suum sapienter custodit, se ac suos ad pro-
fectum dirigit. And Bias the philosopher knew, that it
was a most hard thing of all other, and onelie fauor-
ring of great magnanimitie and wisdom, *Fortiter*
ferre mutationes rerum in deterius. But he being verte-
20 wisse, feared not the alteration of his estate, but ra-
ther desired to be rid thereof, considering the weigh-
tinesse and danger which depended therevpon, and re-
membryng that notable sayeng of Gregorie in his
apozals, declaring the singular god of such, which do
thun the gouernement of tempoall things, in these
wordes. *Quasi quodam iugo seruitutis premunt prospera, dum*
appetuntur; premunt aduersa dum formidantur. At si quis se-
mel dominationem desideriorum temporalium a collo mentis
excuserit, quadam etiam vita libertate perfruitur, & dum
30 *nullo desiderio felicitatis afficiunt, nullo aduersitatis errore co-*
arctantur.

This earle Morton (I saie) surrendered his of-
fice (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in
this yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred
seuentie & seven, at what time also Robert Holmes
esquier was then in Scotland for hir maiestie of
England. Vpon the remouing of which erle Morton
there were no moze regents in that countrie, but
the king took vpon him to rule the realme by him-
40 selfe & by such curators as he shuld appoint therfore.
For the king now about the twelue yere of his age
thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouern-
ment of the countrie by himselfe, and such as he ap-
pointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancessors
had done before in their yong yeares, notwithstanding
the opinion of manie of the better sort of the
prebiterie, which mainteine that he cannot absolute-
lie rule, or perfectlie establish anie thing by the cr-
50 stomes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of
five and twentie yeares. But we find in their stone
hystories of Scotland, written euen by men of best
iudgement; that James the second of that name
king of Scots, did in the fourtenth yeare of his
age, in the twenthy yeare of his reigne, and in the
yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred fortie
and foure, put Alexander Leuthstone, knight from
his regentship, and took vpon himselfe the absolute
gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writ-
60 teth Lesleus. *Gubernatoris cancellarijque conciliarij*

Lesleus li. 8.
factum est, vt minimum ordinem coniis. Striueling indies
diceretur. An. Dom. 1440. mense Ianuary, omnium assensu est
constitutum, vt rex suum regnum iustitias; consensiones; so-
piat, causas decidat, controuersias dirimat, reliqua reipubli-
ca negotia presens procurat. Scilicet nobiles sive canones sine
re adiuungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes,
odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, vt alio-
rum seruatus se premissis diuina non sinat: sed vt omnis iura
exculso, ipse sibi reipublica gubernanda partes assumat. Is im-
ueniendi quodam regnandi ardore incensus, illorum voces tan-
quam Syrenium cantum in suas aures effudere liberalissime
patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum apens, in regnum
solum preceps trinit, ac vt publicis coniis solum praefect, om-
nes ordines Striueling vocat, 4. Nuncmbris 1444.

After

Gl. super ill. ec-
cles. 23 melius
est vi filij.

The earle
Morton sur-
rendered his
regentship.

The kings of
Scotland
take on them
to rule the
realme with-
out procura-
tors being
with in age.

Com

Cadi

Arg
at 3

After which, about five yeares following, the same James, to shew his absolute and sufficient government, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age, and the twelfth yeare of his government create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntlye, and George Leslie a baron earle of Rothesay. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixtē yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred four score & eight, administered the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. James the fifth the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, in the seventeenth yeare of his age, & about the fiftieth yeare of his government, removed the earle of Angus from the regentship, and took upon himselfe the government of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now living king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of his age, and as much of his government of Scotland appoint procurators to governe the realme, whilst she remained in France with the French king her husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselves the government of the kingdome, after that they have attained to the crowne in those yeares, which are over tender and unfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe over the same, I thinke it not unmet in this place, sith we have mentioned this position which was the last regent, gouvernour or protector of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouvernours of that realme, as have come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I have done in England at the end of the government of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouvernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minority or his insufficiencie of government, or during his absence out of the realme.

Conanus.

Conanus was gouvernour under Thierens about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seven: for Thierens renouncing the kingdome and fleeing to Poike, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thierens, was regent or gouvernour, of whom writeth Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optime administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater successus est.

Cadallus.

Cadallus living about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seventie and nine, did pursue Gilius (the bastard of Cuenus) having slaine the sonne of Cuenus, and usurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (which was Gilius) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam affectu, inita prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur.

Argadus earle of Argyle.

Argadus earle of Argyle, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred thirtie and eight, was cast in prison for his evil life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouvernour of Scotland, after which Chodius the next king, whome this Argadus

holpe unto the crowne made him chiefe sustiter of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this date the earles of Argyle do inioice by inheritance.

Donald, Colollan, Morbach and Conrade were made gouvernours of the kingdome, for thus writeth Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 198. Senectutis random tadio illius (which was Elphine who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ, seven hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitate sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus præstans quædam sed fucata virtutis species eluxit) delegit, quibus singulis singulas prouincias decreuit; Donaldus Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Galloudiam; & Conano Morauiam.

Donald, Colollan, Morbach, & Conrade.

William Fraiser bishop of S. Andrewes, &c. after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred four score and three, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not knowen to whome the kingdome did appertene, sith there were manie which claimed the same, as Balioll, Bruce, Hastings, and others) agreed amongst themselves, and chose six regents or gouvernours of the same, until a king were fullie known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert bishop of Glasgou, sir John Cumine, and James high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouvernour of Scotland by Edward the first, who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland under his subiection, appointed the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasurer of Scotland) to haue the government of that realme in his absence, whilst he was buied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselves at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seven, at that time also Andrew Purrie was slaine, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan lib. 3. chanan) administer and governe Scotland for the king.

William Wallace.

William Wallace after manie worthie exploits done in the behalfe of his countrie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouvernour of the realme under John Balioll, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouvernour of Scotland under the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouvernour, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first king of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawn, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and five.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had given over his office of gouvernour, was chosen to be gouvernour for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties, which being knowen to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countrie, and destroyed it. Whereupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser fellow with him in the administration of the wars against

John Cumine.

the English, and discomfited the English in the pere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and two. After which king Edward, being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Dòmare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Dòmare de
Valence or
Aimer de
Valence.

Dòmare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, uncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe blood, was about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and four, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yeare one thousand three hundred & two, toke William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruce being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six, at Speken discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Dòmare de Valence, who after banished all those which aide waite toke part with king Robert Bruce. But in the end Robert Bruce recovering himselfe & more aid, drave all the Englishmen out of Scotland, governing the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas
Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Morreie, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yeare of Robert Bruce, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruce being fallen into extreme sickness, whereby he could not hold the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, committed the administration of the realme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Douglas knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countrie god about foure yeares, during the life of the said Robert Bruce, whose death happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his sonne came to the crowne, being but tenen yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minoritye and insufficiencye of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betwene England and Scotland. Shortly after which the gouernor died of poison at Spiseborough, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yeare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, John erle of Morreie, and Thomas, both being persons worthy of such a father.

Patrick
Dunbar.

Patrick Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of erle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemble of parliament of the three estates of the realme, in which in the said yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and the second yeare of the reigne of king Dauid, these two, Patrick earle of March and Dauid (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Morreie were chosen gouernors of the realme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin nere to the water of Erne, by such as followed and toke part with Edward Balliol attaining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew
Morreie.

Andrew Morreie, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Morreie, and ioined

in that office with Patrick of Dunbar earle of March. Shortly after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rockborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sickness, and was buried in Rose Parkie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Douglas, after the decease of Andrew Morreie, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Morreie, whilst king Edward did besiege Berwick, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remoue his siege of Berwick. Afterward this Douglas was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as some haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Archibald
Douglas.

Dauid Cumine was made protector in this sort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by sea; he afterwards hauing Edward Balliol the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glasgou: but perceiving no resistance against him, retired with Balliol into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Artholl gouernor in his roime, to win such holds and strengths as were yet defended against him. Which Dauid toke on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Balliol king of Scots, seizing into his hands all the lands which pertained to Robert Stewart, so that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became stronger.

Robert Stewart regent of Scotland possessed that place, at this time also when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol; for this writeth Lesleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verum ne patria gubernatoris imperio destituta, aduersariorum insidijs pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in se transtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipse tunc regni gubernacula suscepturus. By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol gone into England, so this Robert Stewart toke vpon him the regentship for king Dauid Bruce fled into France: the which he the rather did, because he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had spoiled him of all his linings and patrimoine. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted sundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other things, to be free from paying of tribute of coine and graine. For this Stewart together with John Randolph earle of Morreie, were by a counsell assembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and four, or one thousand three hundred thirtie and five.

John Randolph
earle of
Morreie
protector.

Robert Stewart earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Stewart the first king of Scotland (by the name of Stewart) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the consent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred foure score and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred

Robert Stewart
ward.

died ennietie. After whose death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdome, and had by a fall from his horse wounded himselfe, that he was not able to follow the government of the kingdome, this Robert earle of Arle his brother was made gouernor of the kingdome. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Stewart duke of Albanye, being one of the first dukes which were made in Scotland. Besides which also, after the death of the same Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and six, this Robert duke of Albanye was by new election, or rather confirmation established in the office of gouernor (as haue some Scottish chronicles) which duke of Albanye died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninetie, the third of September, when he had bene gouernor fiftene yeares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it seemeth to me for this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots haue truely set the same doctore; for those accounts can not stand together, with the death of king Robert the third, and the yeares gouernment of the duke of Albanye, after the death of the king. But I passe it over, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in mistaking the figure of the number of yeares, than anie want of consideration in the writer of the historie.

**എറുമാക്കെ
കിര്യോ.**

Morwickes Steward erle of Fife & Gentich, the
 eldest sonne of Robert duke of Albanie, was after
 his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, con-
 tinuing in that office by the space of foure yeares,
 vntill about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure
 hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found
 meanes to bring home James the right king of
 Scots, who had bene eightene yeares deteined in
 England, and placed him in the kingdome of Scot-
 land, by the name of James the first: at what time
 the crowne was set vpon the kings head with the
 hands of the said Morwickes the gouernor, & Henrie
 bishop of saint Andrews. This duke was in the
 yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie
 and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of
 James the first committed of high treason, and be-
 headed vnder the castell of Sterling. He had issue
 two sons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which
 were also beheaded at the same place the date before
 the death of their father.

Alexander
Levingstone.

Alexander Leningstone knight was made go-
 vernour the date after that James the second was
 crovned; in the yeare of our Lord God one thou-
 sand foure hundred thirtie & six: for the king being
 but six yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the said
 Alexander Leningstone of Calender knight to be
 governour of the realme: at what time the king
 person was committed to the education and rule of
 William Creighton knight lord chancellor, who was
 then continued in his office: After this in the yeare
 of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fortie and
 foure, about the eight yere of James the second, they
 both by long contention which had long continued
 betweene them about their authoritie, were per-
 suaded by others, removed from the king, all their
 friends, banished the court, and they themselves
 committed to a prison before the king their maisties
 they returned to the court, they were both received re-
 bels and put to the harte and sharp usage of prison
 and gaule the danger of the duke of Cumberland
 was then twofoldes the first was that he might not
 offend the governour, the other was that he might not
 offend the governor, after the death of James
 the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thou-

Arrane, but shortly after they falling out amongst themselves for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to perforce that office.

John duke of
Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and governor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne) was by universall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, having the same confirmed unto him by a parlement holden at Edinburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, and the first yeare of the young king James the first. Whereof intelligence being brought unto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fouretene, directed his latters and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred and sixtene, and in the third of James the first, on the seventeenth of Maie, he arrived at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of governor, who was honorablie interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edinburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edinburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serveth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed governor, the scepter and sword being delivered unto him, and an oath by him to the lords, and by the lords to him given, that each of them should be faithfull to each other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, as saith Lesleus, committed the government of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, and to the earles of Huntlye, Argyle, Angus, and Arrane. And least any evil might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edinburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschewine, Bothwell, and Ruthwene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke having thus bene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, remaining still governor: but in following time, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king James the first, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the
quene.

Margaret the quene, the mother of James the first, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, the six and twentieth of Julie) find meanes that the young king came from Sterling unto Edinburgh: three daies after which the quene took the whole government upon her, and entered into the castle of Edinburgh with the king, making the lord Marwell protonot of Edinburgh. Then the quene appointing a parlement to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings private counsell, to take on them the government of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Lencur, to whom the quene was adjoined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Douglas earle of Angus in the

end fullie getting the whole government into his hands.

Archibald Douglas (after that the bishop of Dunblane was dead, and the quene gone unto Sterling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and five, being about the thirtieth of James the first) took the whole government upon him both of the king and kingdome, setting by, removing, and pulling downe that officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and government, made his uncle Archibald Douglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Douglas and the earle of Lencur who assisted him. After which there was a divorce had betwene the quene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, and the sixteenth yeare of the same James the first, was attainted by parlement holden at Edinburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute government into his hands in the seventeenth yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeare of his said government. Whereupon the yeare following, this Archibald came unto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason whereof he fled into England.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the first) being but seven daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that David Beton, fauor of the French causes had without all reason usurped the government, under the pretence of a devised will and testament of James the first, in which testament he was appointed governor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quenes consent a governor to the person of the young quene, which was the lord Levingstone capitaine of Aithy quo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the second yeare of quene Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michael. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being about the twelfth yeare of quene Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of governor, and the quene took the same into her hands, appointing procurators to rule the same under her: whereupon the governor in the yeare following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chateaufort. The procurators which were appointed for and by quene Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinal of Lozeine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writeth the same Lesleus in these words: Hos (which was his procurators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quene of Scots) maris suasi, Henricum regem Francie, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisium eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem regine matri procurandam transtulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after him, and one David Hamilton.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as withow to James the first, and mother to the young quene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfth yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quene Marie, made regent of Scotland under her daughter the same young quene, which office

Marie dowager of Scotland,
land,

Lesleus
pag. 56

James
Hamilton

Spalding
earle
mar.

Lesleus lib. 19
pag. 517.

office this regent toke vpon his hauing the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, being vpon the point of the eighteenth yeare of quene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: Fuit autem corpus in Galliam postea transuectum, primum ad monasterium Peckamense, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cenobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui soror ipsius pie tunc praeerat, delatum, honorifice condebatur.

James Stewart bastard sonne to king James the first king of Scots, and base brother to Marie quene of Scots now living and imprisoned, being p̄tor of saint Andrews and earle of Spar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, being about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, made earle of Sparre. About five yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against quene Marie, toke him, committed him to prison, deposed him, and vpon the same (on the nineteenth date of Julie in the yeare a thousand five hundred thre score and seven, being the five & twentieth yeare of the reigne of that quene) advanced his sonne Charles James Stewart (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the first: this James earle of Sparre, was made regent and gouernor of the young king James the first, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parlement abolish the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of thre yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, this regent as he was riding through Lichquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Sparre, married Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marhall.

Matthew earle of Lennox, being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Sparre, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a convention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another convention at Edenburgh, where by the consent of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at that time the earle of Huntley toke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quene of Scots remaining then vnder custodie in England, which Huntley in his name summoned a parlement at Lichquo the 21 date of September, wherevnto the earle of Lennox was summoned: to incounter which, the earle of Lennox caused a parlement likewise to be summoned in the kings name at the same place, whervnto the earle of Huntley was warned at the same daie. But the earle of Huntley comming no nēer at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Lennox and the nobilitie, to pursue him: wherevpon ensued great warres betwene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, some taking part with the deposed quene Marie, and other with the young king in possession. During which turmoiles and wars, this earle of Lennox hauing been regent about a yeare and moze, was wounded at Sterling with a pissell by capitaine Catwder, whereof he shortly after died, in the yeare of Christ

one thousand five hundred thre score and eleven, being about the fourth yeare of James the first.

John Arskine earle of Spar was made regent after the death of the earle Lennox, as maie appere by that which I haue before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome succeeded the earle Morton, of whome I haue a little before spoken, and of whome we will moze intreat hereafter, when we come to speake of his beheading, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of Lewis the first, after that the said earle had continued that office about five yeares. For being advanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and twelue, he continued in the same, vntill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentēne, as is before touched. Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succeeded.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentēne, we saie that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentship, that the lord Clames, who was then in office of the chancelorship, was treacherously slaine by his enemies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged against him, as he was comming out of Sterling castell, & going to his owne lodging from the councill or parlement. Whereby it seemeth that this murdering by sudden shot began now to be a common thing: for there were thre great persons in short time dispatched after that sort, which were the earles of Sparre and Lennox regents, & this lord Clames chancellor. After the death of which lord Clames, the earle of Atholl was advanced to that place, and inuested with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, which I will doe in few words.

This officer the chancellor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolm the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordaining manie necessarie laws for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, constable, marshall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in his historie of Scotland in these words: Felicitate rempublicam haud paucos annos administravit (king Malcolm) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: interque cetera municipalium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruauit, nihil pene immutatas, regionum magistratum iudicumque, quos licet mundis, magisque Latine vocare possunt, vulgo tamen cancellarium, constabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, iusticiariumque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctorumque ministrorum aulae annua salaria, ut nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac ceteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribusque soluendum foret, instituit. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the confessor, seemeth also to me conuertible

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 204.

John Arskine earle of Spar.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 169.

James Stewart.

James earle of Sparre.

The lord Clames chancellor.

The earle of Atholl made chancellor.

Matthew earle of Lennox.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 517.

Marie dowager of Scots.

tertile to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and customs from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen & Romans as other nations had: which as I do not suppose, because the Romans had but little doings amongst them, for as they neuer vsed anie such officer in this land whilist they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it maie be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies bene in league ever since the time of their king Achatius the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing this, we saie (more particularlie treating of Scotland) that much about this time, John Lesle bishop of Rosse (who had some yeares before bene some certeine time imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had trauelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned quene of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yeld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randolph, as the second of that name now emperor. Which said Lesle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, passed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was staied at Platzenburgh, otherwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bawier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Welferz; in which citie, his coffers and other things were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the quene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enemies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enemy to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safeconduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bawier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie dismiss the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, & conuulsing him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horsemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall writing in the Latine tongue vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was done to the said bishop, in that his detaining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not anie waie take anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I haue faithfully and *Verbatim* set downe in this sort.

The testimoniall left by the bishop
of Rosse with the duke of
Bawier.



Os Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauia, &c: testatur hoc scripto palam & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cum in hisce periculosis & mo-

tuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandum pacem publicam, aut noxias dissensiones sub quouis prætextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; præcipue cum nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quam facile aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauaria, comesque Veldenzia, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsteinensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exqueretur, significauit. Post factam retentionem, celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc apulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiarum instructionis & memorialium eius celsitudini missæ fuerat, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cum mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirum, vt extirpata hæresis, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuracione Scoticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cum plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus a papa salutauerimus, & inuiserimus. Ad quam suspicionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ virgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tam in religione, quam politicis perturbare, & suspicionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minus quam ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominus celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quam præcedentibus suspicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutius nos detenturos conuulsit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut instructione dissensionum, aliquid nunquam tenturos, sicut & alibi: sed quod exhortacionibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundo, quod pollicemur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, neque per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindictam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ passim (potissimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuentum & vigilandum, maxime verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideo ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arcitissimæ inter ordines coniunctionis, hanc circumspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accipimus: cum præsertim eius celsitudo non modò liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcirco sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, quæ eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos

& ditiones hanc retentionem persequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroborationem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelseni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis
& administrator ecclesie Morauensis.

This Lesle being yet living, and (as I haue heard) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancelor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both intioed honorable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was vexed with vnjust war, first by Harold king of England the son of Godwine, & then by the Norman barbar named the Conqueror, which sine Harold and obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did priuillie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obtaine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grieuousely molested with vehement winds, which forcible made them forsake their appointed course, and draue them into the mouth of the riner of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be seene, & at this daie called S. Margarets haue (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whose Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherewith she was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & solemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdom. Upon which deed William the Conqueror being more grieuouslie moued than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindsey, Waus, Ramsay, Lowel, and diuerse other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie do at this daie in our age flourish with great honor. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerse other persons of account, as Crichton, Fozzingham, Giffert, Spanlis, Bzothike, and others; amongst whom Bartholomeus Lesle descended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (toined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vsed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edinburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sprung and flourished manie worthy persons, valiantlie resisting and subduing their enemies. And amongst those, one Walker Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisdom shewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewis the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens. Vt (one of their owne name now a bishop of Rosse in his historie of Scotland saith) a quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frangere, & sub iugu fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus: eiusdem stirpis comes Rothemus, multiq; alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primum,

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 211.

ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fife, Angusia, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijsque prouincijs munifice cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rosse now living called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Gouzie or Gouzieke, the same earle of Rosse being a person no lesse wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Banier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and nineteene, Amies Stewart the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to John the eldest brother of Mattheu Leneur, some time regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorablie receiued, and aduanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Stewart (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earldome of Leneur, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby moze firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should saue by taking the earldome from Robert Stewart to haue wronged him, the king for recompense thereof, bestowed vpon the said Robert Stewart as honorable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honor of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this daie, his sonne being a towardlie young gentleman doth most honorablie possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which doth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being such an honor as was but lately begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentiful in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose noished at any one time (when that title was risest amongst them) thre persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to saie somewhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vnto Robert the third of that name, whose right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdom by a gouernor so called. For thus write the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these speeches: Verum quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarerentur nomini inesse nescio quid ominis insaufi, quod reges Francie & Anglie, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderentur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerunt. Quæ illorum sine in nominis obseruatione superstitio, sine in regis conseruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita confusa fuerunt; vt (quod regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifensi fratri suo regni gubernatione dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is said, having now obtained a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honor into his kingdom: for he created David his eldest sonne duke of Rothewe, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdom) duke of Albanie, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these words;

The lord of
Obignie
made earle of
Leneur.

Robert Stewart
ward made
erle of March.

The first crea-
tion of dukes
in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 264.

To which
king John of
England and
France, he
might also
haue added
one of his own
countie of
Scotland
John Batill
the king, who
was as infor-
tunate in his
gouernment
as any of the
other.

words: Tertio plus minus anno (which was about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirtene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perchihabito, post alias res pro regni comodo sapienter actas, rex Davidem filium suum titulo ducis Rothfaix, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando prefeceat, ducis Albanij honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati. Thus much he, proving that it is not aboute one hundred foure score and thirtene yeares since that title came first into Scotland. Wherby it appereth that England since the conquest having dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie & seven, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred forty & nine yeres past, being fiftie and six yere before they had a duke in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first which were invested with the honoz of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightene yeares from the said pere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the first having bene trained up in England obtained the crowne, and under the protection of Boy-dache (the sonne of the foresaid Robert the first duke of Albanie) to whom the government of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third.

Archibald Dowglasle was the first Scot which passing the seas, & serving a strange prince, intobed ante such title of duke in ante forein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull unto him, created John Stewart earle of Buquaine constable of France, & advanced the said Archibald Dowglasle to the honoz of the dukedome of Arnone: but he did not long intoie that great title, being hostile after slaine at the battell of Verneille, in the pere of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treating of which battell Buchanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all modestie and course of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, whereof I have created in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus having somewhat digressed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to have furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will retorne to the lord of Dbegnie, who was at this time created duke of Lennox, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesleus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lennox thus by the king netolie as before said created, the words of which Lesleus bishop of Rosse be these: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus advanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwene the said yeares of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conscripsit, quæ vulgo Scotorum armatorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lennoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multisque alijs terris, maneribus, honoribus, & balcagij comuni populi sermone dictis, a rege insignitus est. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiusdem cognominis & profapiz continuata, successio-

nis serie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lennoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohannis filius non parvam suorum virtutis speciem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obinet. Thus much Lesle. Beside which that Lesleus hath set downe of the first lord of Dbegnie in France, Paulus Iovius in his booke of Emperre written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the devise of his enligies or armes in this sort translated by me into English.

There was (saith Iovius) amongst the Frenchmen a man of knowne vertue or prowelle, & most famous capteine called Heberard Stewart bozne of the blond rosall of Scotland) being honozed with the title of monsieur de Dbegnie, who being of kindred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his devise or enligne, a field siluer, a ramping lion getoles, with a number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare upon his typer garment, and likewise beare in his standard, with this posse, Distantia iungit: signifying thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit together the king of Scots and the French king, with a full counterpeisse against the force of the king of England, naturall enemy to Scotland and France. Thus much Iovius, & thus much of the duke of Lennox lord of Dbegnie in France. After which, say I am now in discourting of dukes of that countrie, and have shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not unfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as have come unto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightene; which I will not refuse to do in this place, following the same course which I have observed before in the historie of England, where I have set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of ante duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A catalog of all the dukes of Scotland by creation or descent.

David Stewart (eldest son of John Stewart earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leaving the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and eightene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothfete, when he was about eighte yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was bozne the two and twentieth daie of October one thousand three hundred three score and eightene, made duke in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourescore & eightene, as some haue. But Lesleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances do gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score & thirtene. He married Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Stewart second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth daughter of Spoyne his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Argyll, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and eightene, and the eight yeare of the government of Robert the second, ad-

united

nanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Albanie: this Robert and the other David as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend David the duke of Rothesay, and committed him to strict prisonment in Fankeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is more spoken in my protectors of Scotland.

Murdocke
duke of Albanie.

Alexander
duke of Albanie.

Murdocke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likeli duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie young at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Spar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and thre, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of James Benmedie bishop of saint Andrews. About sixtene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and ninetene, falling in the sixteenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie received, and there married the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortly after dieng, and the duke perceiving himselfe not to be so well vsed as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, comming (without ante resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentieth yeare of James the third) as far as Kadsrag, or Kalsalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of Spar and Spar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke letteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the quene, without knowlege thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new troubles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the thre and twentieth yeare of James the third, this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edinburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Buckquaine forsaking the king, took part with the duke.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lelcus saith

that he took a little bote and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie intertained by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chivalrie; thus writeth Lelcus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did invade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lelcus saith: Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite inuicit astans, particula cuiusdam hastæ traicitur, breuique post moritur, about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie gouernor of Scotland during the minority of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orkney, which Alexander was after bishop of Orkney, and abbat of Seane.

John Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obtaine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre: of this man I haue made a more large discourse in the gouernors of Scotland, whereunto I refer the; and therefore omit to talke any further of him in this place.

John duke of
Albanie.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesay, is by some termed prince of Rothesay, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth date of March, being about the twelue yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentieth yeare of his father, and the sixteenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capitaine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banocksburne two miles from Sterling, incountering with the king his father, did there slea him; whereupon this James duke of Rothesay was presentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

James Steward
duke of Rothesay.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesay: for thus writeth Lelcus li. 8. pag. 331. In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) sedulo, vt Alexander dux Rothesay & Iohannes comes Marria sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissime imbuerentur, tantoque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnifice alerentur. He died the sixteenth kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtine at Sterling.

Alexander
duke of Rothesay.

Henrie Steward lord Dorneleie the eldest sonne to Matthew Steward erle of Lennox, was brought by in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the quene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Ross, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and five by the same quene, about the thre and twentieth yeare of his reigne: shortly after which he was in the Julie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturday the eight and twentieth day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclaimed king by the quenes commandement, at the market crosse of Edinburgh; being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentieth date of the same moneth, in the chapell at Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning: which honor he did not long inioie,

Henrie duke
of Albanie.

into. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and six (that by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false persuasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne overthrow, and that by such as moued him thereunto) he was miserable slaine in a house within the towne, nere to hiske a field.

Amies Ste-
ward duke of
Leneur.

Amies Steward lord of Obigne in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Spatheu Steward earle of Leneur, being first by James the first of that name made earle of Leneur, was after by the same king made duke of Leneur; who being dead, hath left a yong sonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this date liuing, intoling the title of his father, and called duke of Leneur. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue bene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue intolied that title in a forren nation.

Modowike
Steward
duke of Leneur.

That diuers of the Scots haue obtained the title and honor of dukes in forren countries.

A It is honozable to anie man to be aduanced vnto anie title of honour in his owne countrie, either for desert or fauor; whereof yet parcialitie maie most commonlie be the furtherer: so is it far more honozable and remoued from all suspicion of undeserued fauor, to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie cause in a forren countrie; because princes (whose hands are mostlie opened to enrich their subiects, in whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie inclosed) do not commonlie without singular desert aduance strangers to them by birth in an other nation, & not their native subiects, for that they are people, to whom without an especiall triall anie prince is not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the same being an argument of worthie desert, either for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one is adozned with anie such title of honoz, I thinke it not vnfit in this place to obscure the glozie of the Scots (who might impute the same to be maliciouslie done by me) and to omit such of their nation as haue intolied the title of dukes in a forren countrie, especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small, as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I would not anie waie p̄termit what they iustlie deserue, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recorded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald Dowglas was created duke of Touraine in France in this sort. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twenty and three as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of numbers which haue happened through the contrarie of bookes) Charles the seuenth of that name king of France, sending ambassadoys into Scotland, to renew the old league betwene the two nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid against the English, there were ambassadoys and other noble men sent likewise into France out of Scotland; with whose comming the French king being greatlie comforted, and hoping of god successe against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court

creat this Archibald Dowglas (then erle of Wighton) duke of Touraine. But that honoz continued not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twenty and foure, at the battell of Veruole in Perth the English obtained the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and heire James Dowglas earle of Wighton was amongst others most vnfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald earle Dowglas was duke of Touraine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake hereafter, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married the earle of Crawford's daughter, by whom he had issue William earle Dowglas, a child of foureteene yeares old which succeded him, & one David Dowglas. After which this Archibald died at Lesfelrig in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the thirde yeare of king James the first.

William earle Dowglas a child of foureteene yeares of age succeded his father in his inheritances, and was after made duke of Touraine or Touraine, who being now earle Dowglas, deliuered forth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his further honoz and his countries benefit. But in the end their expectations were deceiued after that he was made duke of Touraine: for being pufft vp in pride with those great honozs, he forgot himselfe, and wrought his owne and his countries harme, whereof we will not now speake; but onelie set downe Lesleus words touching his admittance to the dukedome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle Dowglas) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum Cumminald & Alanu Lowder ac Carolum septimu Francorum regem misit, orati, vt ducatu Toronenſi eius patrimoniam dignitates amplificarentur: æquum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archibaldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Franciæ bello Vernolenſi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur & pater illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, ideam ad se quoque perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono quantum illi ad honorem dignitatemque cumuli, tantum profecto ad superbiam, insolentiamque materiz accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same to be done as other authozs also doe; in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the thirde yeare of the reigne of James the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honoz he did not long intolde, for in the yeare following being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king James; he was, for that he would neither obeie the government of the gouernoz or chancelloz, bidden to a banquet at Edinburgh castle, whereas when he and his brother David were set at dinner, the meat was suddenlie remoued, and a bulls head presented to the erle of Dowglas, being in those daies a token that he should shortly be executed. Immediatlie wherevpon, the said earle with his brother David, & Malcolm Fleming lord of Cumminald were beheaded befoze the castle gate: so that this great honoz seemed to those Scots which possessed the same, not much vnlike to the Seiane hoize, or to the honoz of the dukedome of Gloucester.

Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 292.

This proueth
Archibald
Dowglas
father to this
William to be
duke of Tour-
aine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernoz to Marie queene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being about seuen daies old, she began the first yeare of hir vnfortunate gouernement, which I maie so rightlie terme, because she was after deposed in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and seuen, in the five and twentieth yeare of hir reigne) was

made

made duke of Chateleault by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfth yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherefore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by forren persons of great state in Europe, to make some inuasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon or amongst such realmes as professed the gospel, and were enemies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerser part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselves against the popes doctrine, but had also draiue their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied nerele in blood to the imprisoned quene, and to the yong king of Scots, and supported with other princes purses, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdom. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to fort to the purposed effect, did for that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmoles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphiné, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the straining to appease the same new insurrection, employing all his gathered forces therevnto, and encountering with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seeme altogether to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprise a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the bittermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not forth in all respects to answer the expected hope of god successe therein. For partly by the policie of the Scots, and partly by the support of the allies and friends to the king, but altogether by the united strength of both sorts, the Scots rid themselves of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same date wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were John Durie, and master William Bancanquell. In which discourse betwene the earle and them these matters in substance amongst manie others fell forth, in questions propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, draiue into some fewe all heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

The examinations and answers of the earle of Morton before his death, but after his condemnation.

Ist he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his ouerthrow, in considering the estate whervnto he had bene once called in this world, but rather remembering the glorie to come, he should reioisse and be of god comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, because he was persuaded that all worldlie honoz is but vanitie, and the broken rod of Egypt. And as concerning the estate whervnto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to live, because he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, seeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortalitie, & the everlasting toy which he looked for, and whereof he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part of knowledge in the kings death or murder: he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for Dauides slaughter, he came out of Wetherborne to Wetheringham, where the earle Bothwell was at the same time, with whome there was communication about the kings murder, but he would not consent thereto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, lateng the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now living, and confessing that they vnderstood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Lennox; he added, how that in the end he was by the law not only of late convicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murder, when as he should answer to God he had no part of knowledge in that matter. Furthermoze, shewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cleared of that murder by assise, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie should laie the kings murder to his charge, he would assise him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the quenes marriage with the earle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged therevnto by the quenes owne writing and commandement.

Then being required in the name of the living God, that seeing this murder of the king was one of the most filthyest acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof hath not hitherto bene opened, neither who was the cheefe doer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne by into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had already declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had already suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie presentlie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose companie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Wherupon, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Athlins, if he had anie act or part therein:

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he

which was Henrie king of Scots, slain in the yeare of Christ 1566, beginning the year at the annuntiation of the virgin, Dauid Riccio the Italian, secretarie to the quene, slain in the yeare 1566,

he answered with godd attestation, saying: Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knewe any thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common bruite of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knewe that maister John Wouandt brought him any poison; he replied that he knewe no such thing, and that he knewe nothing by maister Wouandt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; He, he, there is ouer much filthinesse in Scotland already, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earldome of Atholl, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue bene ministred, yea if there had been one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made any conspircie against the earle of Lenex: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed any conspircie against the earle of Lenex, neither minded to him any hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it grieved him that the earle of Lenex knewe not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceived the danger of the kings person. For being thereunto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enemies, overthrowers of the kingdome, and enemies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the reline: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Lenex familiarity and his should haue bene greater.

Fifthlie, being demanded whether he had any league or dealing with England for the conuening of the king or otherwise, or if he had any pension of the queene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God under paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had any dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the queene nor any in his name, that euer moued any such thing to me, so indrectly as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had bene for his profit and honor, &c. And for the more clere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mercie for any thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had bene as careful to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to seeke the kings wealth, I had not bene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the queene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the queene of England in all my life. And although they caused the bruite to go, that I should haue furnished the queene of Englands souldiours now last vpon the borders, I neuer knewe of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixthlie, being demanded what was his part of the enterpryse of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knewe nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochlen, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to keepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in any other place. But

he understood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as free at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present: And if he had knowne that his grace would haue gone to any other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladly haue gone with him.

Seuenthlie, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & advancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; inasmuch that rather than any hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indeed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and followed the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation; that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were any things done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowne better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eighthlie, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthy of this and more: whereunto he yielded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indeed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so ouer much to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expessed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beseech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indeed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast auaite all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthly things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie. And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue; and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure you

you that I thinke this to be the most acceptable time that ever God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and see such miseries and confusions to issue, that I thanke God that I shall not see them. And you who doe feare God, and liue after me, when you shall see these things, you will wisly to be there I shall be, that is, with him.

Twentiethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done vnto him or no, &c: he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselves vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am moued to speake somewhat stricke in this matter which is this: I saw such parcell dealing against me, that it hath bene all one to me, if I had bene as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had bene as guiltie as Iudas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had bene, which appeareth in this, that no exception of anie person which was to passe vpon my aillie could be admitted: for I requited the earle of Argyle to purge himselfe of parcell counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indubd, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue parcell counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Manton, the lord of Selson, and such others, who were knowen to be my enemies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration wherof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, which it behooueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they seeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other which doe fauor the good cause, were taken out of the waie: Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue bene so handled, and that such as hereafter shall be put therevnto, may haue a more plaine waie to doe their turne or intent: and I praye God that they which are to liue behind me see not the practise thereof, but I feare it soe. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my master, and wisly you in the name of God to heare it to him, the summe whereof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bene the kings foes and enemies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue bene the maintainers of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and mistlike of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enemies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done wisly if for ever. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I heere saie there is a dealing put in practise betwene France and England, and Monsieurs marriage with the quene is like to be feared; if France and England bind together, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie vnderstand, that the one of them will persuade the other to their religion, &c.

XXI. Centlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare giue him no coun-

sell, and I will tell you this; to bid him come in; partlie I dare not, all men may see in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for ever, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauor againe, and to see if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties goodwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

XXII. Centlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which John Inokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a litle before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knew nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefites which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisdom and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefites aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospel, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not doe, God shall spoile you of these benefites, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. Then being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

XXIII. Centlie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edenburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Bulhoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had bene done. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiveness of them as I forgive all men.

XXIV. Centlie, being required to declare if he knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in deed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest prayer, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartlie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in deed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praye you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne finnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I may be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satiffie by long conference, which is too long to rehearse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were three things wherewith which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contained in his word, wherevnto

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Agabalen, Peter, and the theſe, &c. Thirde the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, ſaieing: I know it to be true, for ſince I paſt to Dunbarton I haue read the ſeue books of Moſes, Iſaie, the Judges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I ſee that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he puniſhed them ſo oft as they ſinned, yet as ſone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they ſinned againe he puniſhed them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am aſſured, that albeit that I haue offended againſt my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Alſo further in this point it was ſaid vnto him, that in caſe ſathan ſhould trauell to diſcourage him in conſideration of the iuſtice of God on the one part, and of his finnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of god courage, and that in reſpect of the verie ſelfe ſame iuſtice of God, which will not ſuffer him twice to take payment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a ſtill man will not twice demand payment of that whereof he was already paid, for ſith Chriſt died for our finnes, and paid the vttermoſt ſatifying that God could craue, he cannot late our finnes vnto our charge being ſatiſfied in Chriſt, becauſe his iuſtice will not ſuffer him twice to take payment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Cruellie it is verie god.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exerciſed in the conſideration of the glorie, ſote, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to ſwallowe by the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praife God I do ſo. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a pretty treatiſe of the meditation of death, written by Wabford (which he ſaid that he had gotten from the ladie Darnelſon before he went into ward, and for that cauſe before he came forth of priſon againe gaue it to maſter Latſon, deſiring him to deliuer it to the ſaid ladie againe) he wiſhed maſter Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing ſundry conſiderances vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in ſo much that he ſaid, I proteſt now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherevnto being called to breakefaſt, he earnestlie deſired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulneſſe, as all the companie ſaw, and as appeared by theſe his words: I ſee there is great difference (ſaid he) betwixt a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by theſe two former nights: for before mine accuſation, I could not in things find ante reſt by reaſon of cares which I had, becauſe I was to be accuſed vpon the moztall; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that ſhould be laid vnto my charge I could not ſleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I ſhould die, I was at a point with my ſelfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but caſt my onelie care vpon God, and I praife God I neuer ſlept better in my life than I did this night. When he ſaid vnto the ſeward, William you can beare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. When maſter Walter ſaid vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you

vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I ſhall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which ſhall neuer ſuffer vs to thirſt againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Cruellie I will pledge you maſter Walter on the ſame condition. After which he ſaid, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you vpon the ſame condition. This thus ended for that time; and thanks being giuen to God, the earle paſſed againe to his chamber, at what time maſter James Latſon came to him, with whom he conſidered the ſubſtance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternone we came to him againe, with ſundry of the brethren of the miniſterie, as maſter James Latſon, maſter Robert Bodin, Dauid Fargallone, maſter David Henſa, John Wzand, maſter James Carmichael, and maſter John Daulſon, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and ſaid to him; Maſter John you wrote a little booke in deed, but truſte I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgive me, and I forgive you: vpon which words maſter John was moued with teares. When all the brethren being preſent, the earle reported againe the cheſe ſubſtance of all the things whereof before he ſpoke, being demanded thereof point by point, as their teſtification of this matter ſubſcribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after none, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the miniſterie were informed that there was intell report made of his profeſſion to the king, & that he ſhould haue confeſſed much otherwiſe than he did, whereby the king might haue a worſe opinion of him. Wherefore they thought god to ſend down ſome before his ſuffering to informe his maieſtie of the truth of his confeſſion: which perſons ſo ſent were Dauid Fargallone, John Durie, and John Wzand, who before his death did laſcelle tell the ſimple truth of his confeſſion (as it was made) vnto the kings maieſtie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the ſcaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worldlie things, I ſuppoſed that they ſhould haue giuen me one nights leſſure to haue aduiſed my ſelfe with my God. When the keeper ſaid, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not ſtraie. The earle replied, I am redie alſo I praife God: and ſo comfortable praier being made, the earle paſſed downe to the gate, minding to go directly to the ſcaffold; but the earle of Arrane ſtaied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and wiſhed him to ſtaie until his confeſſion ſhould be put in writing & ſubſcribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the miniſters which were preſent answered, and the earle alſo answered: Gaie my lord, I praie you trouble me no more with theſe things, for now I haue another thing to muſe vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And ſith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the eſtate wherein I now am; and all theſe honeſt men can teſtifie what I haue ſpoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being ſatiſfied, he ſaid to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon ante particular quarell againſt you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to ante other, I forgive you and all others as I would you forgive me. And ſo after with a god courage he paſſed to the ſcaffold, who being vpon the ſcaffold, repeated in ſeu words the ſubſtance of the things before confeſſed, &c. adding ſome exhortation to the people which he ſpoke. not before, in this ſort.

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Sure I am the king shall lose a good servant this
dile, and so he exhorted the people, saying: I testify
before God, that as I professe the gospel which this
dile is taught & professed in Scotland; so also now
I willingly laie downe my life in the persecution
thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according
thereunto as I ought, yet I am assured that God
will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in
God which are professors of the gospel, that you con-
tinue the true professing and maintaining thereof to
your power, as I would haue done God willing
with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had li-
ued: which if you do, I assure you God shall be
mercifull vnto you; but if you do it not, be sure the
vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie
and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words
which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in ef-
fect and more ample before. When all these spea-
ches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable
prayer was made by maister John Lawson, during
the time of which prayer, the erle Morton laie groue-
ling vpon his face before the place of execution, his
bodie making great reboundings with sighes and
sobbs, being euident signes of the inward and migh-
tie working of the spirit of God, as all they which
were present, and knew that it was to be earnestlie
moued in prayer, might easilie perceiue.

The prayer being ended, and sundrie coming
to him before his death, he did most lovinglie receiue
them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that
were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord,
he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humble
(without feare of death) to the place of execution,
and laid his necke vnder the are being vnbound.
And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in
mind to call vpon God: the erle continually cried
vntill his head was stricken off, Lord Iesus receiue
my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which
words he spake euen while the are fell on his necke.
Now whatsoeuer he had bene before, he constantlie
died the servant of God. And howsoeuer it be that
his foes alleged, that as he lived proudlie, so he died
proudie; the charitable servants of God could
perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in
his death: insonmuch that we are assured, that his
soule is receiued into the soles and glories of the
heauens; and we praye God, that they which are be-
hind, may learne by his example to die in the true
feare of God our Lord. Thus far the confession &
death of the erle Morton, penned by such of the
presbyterie as were present thereat.

In a parliament holden in Edinburgh the eight
& twentieth of Januarie, in this yeare one thousand
five hundred fourescore and one, being the fourteenth
of the kings reigne, were matters establisshed, tou-
ching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I
meane not fultie to set downe the same, sith my pen
& purpose is bent to treat of politickal and not spiri-
tuall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but
fenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set
forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of
Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in
this yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure
score and six, we saie that the same booke, published
by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of
the true christian faith and religion, according to
Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by
the kings maiestie and his household, with diuerse o-
thers, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this
title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the
inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus &
his holie Gospel, to their naturall countreimen and
to all other realmes & nations, professing the same
Iesus Christ with them, with grace, mercie, and

peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus
Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of
saluation.

After which title and salutation, the substance
of the same booke, being declared in the forhead
of the chapters following, containeth these heads:
First of God, then of the creation of man, next
of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of
the promise of the continuance, increase, and pre-
seruation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ
Iesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be betwixt
God and man, of election, of Christs death, passi-
on, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascensi-
on, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of god
works, what works are reputed god before God,
of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of
man, of the church, of the immortallitie of soules,
of the notes by which the true church is discerned
from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doc-
trine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of ge-
nerall counsels, of their power, authoritie & cause
of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right
administration of the sacraments, to whome sacra-
ments appertene, of the ciuill magistrat, and of the
gifts frellie giuen to the church, &c.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that
booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the
declaration of the faith of those people, and for the
further instruction of others, were shortly after the
agreement thereunto in that parliament confirmed
by the king, and commanded to be published and to
be sed through his realme, as appeareth by this his se-
lowng precept concerning the same.

The kings maiesties charge to all commissioners and ministers within his realme.

Seeing that we and our household haue
subscribed & giuen this publike confes-
sion of our faith, to the good example of
our subjects, we command and charge
all commissioners and ministers to craue the same
confession of their parishioners, and to pocked a-
gainst the refusers according to our lawes, and or-
der of the church; deliuering their names and labo-
full processe to the ministers of our house, with all
hast and diligence, vnder the paine of fortye pounds
to be taken from their stipend: that we with the ad-
uise of our counsell may take order with such poud
contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed
with our hand at Holierod house one thousand five
hundred foure score and one, the second daie of
aparch, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Keligion thus settled in Scotland, it fell hereupon
that Amies duke of Lennox, to which honoz he was
not long before aduanced, as is already set downe
in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred
three score and nineteene, was now in this yeare by
on displeasure, conceived against him by others of
the nobilitie, banished Scotland, and inforced to re-
turne into France, there to passe the rest of his life
as he had done before. In whose exile was perfo-
med an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag
of five shillings should beare all the dukes of Eng-
land and Scotland. For when this duke was out of
the Scottish kingdome, there was neither duke in
that countrie of England. But as I greatlie fauor
not these things; so yet finding manie of them to
be to unhappie successe; I cannot altogether con-
demne them, especiallie sith I find two other which
concerning the last duke of England, being the
duke of Sommerset, did prognosticat both the ad-
uancement of religion by him, and that he should
not

1582

The duke of
Lennox was
banished.A digression
touching the
duke of Sum-
merset.

not

not long keepe his head on his shoulders, after that he began to make his statelie buildings. Of which propheticall verses declaring the same, the first was,

The mare of the sea, which back-ward is sea-mare.
b Eummers seat, or Summerlet.

Cessabit missa cum regnat equa marina.
The other propheticall mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:
a Aestatis sedes cum scandis ad alta per ades,
Pro certo credes quod caput perdere debes.

And to prove that Summerlet was mainte peres past called in Latine Aestatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall, sometime an herald lining in the time of Henrie the first, who named him accordingly, when the said author extolling himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to W. John Summerlet to correct; which doctor being the kings schoolmaster and physician, a great learned man well sene in the mathe-matiques, one that had written much therein, and verie eloquent also, was (as this Roger Wall thought) most meet to have the oversight of his worke: which matter is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the ads of Henrie the first.

Roger Wall submitteth his worke to the censure of W. John Summerlet.

Vecors, inculca, pauper & pannoſa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefaci: ad hoc immensa verecundiae terrore ductain lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inijs latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quinquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animositatis spiritum procellura in lucem. Eia igitur consilij meis acquiescere non deseras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorem gloriosum inuenies, qui Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognome fortitus est, &c. Supplicia igitur pauperima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sedem velint ostendere, &c. After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of Aestatis sedes, in English Summerseat:

* Summerseat.

Ferilus Aestatis florida sedes,
Morum multiplici luce resurgens,
Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicinae,
Pectore celesti callica candens,
Prædians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammis uicinis ignis in orbe,
Aerique sinus abdita nosse? &c.

Thus hauing expelld the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeares passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerlet by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue trulie bene the willinger to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me thereto) for that I would not suffer so worthe a man as that John Summerlet was to be buried in oblivion.

Surius in comen- de reb. in orbe, bistor. pa. 1092.

But leaning our Englishmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing done by them in the low countries, where one Edward a Scot, hauing had charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, under William of Passaw, earle of Arange, did not fall from the states of that countrie, employe all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiers their due stipend and wages for the wars. At what time also the garison of Breda were for the like cause in an uprore. But some portion of monie

being offered vnto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certaine Scot, called Aitchfield, & surnamed Sempie, being capitaine of the garison of Aire, and long unpaid his sallarie for those warres, did in vaine manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Whereupon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue Aitchfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in detaining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, setting him selfe that he would in the midst of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great battie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, and late in the night gathered together a great preie of catell, horses, oren, hime, sheepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Aire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their battie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abrode, onely opened a little bookelet or doore, thereby to receiue Sempie into the towne. Which thing Sempie then perceiving (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enemies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and reconer their battie, vntlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. When the porter belauing all this to be true, forthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot entereth thereat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiours, which were not farre behind, but secretlie late in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which means the Spaniards and their followers first toone the market place, and the next daie after the halends of August reduced the whole towne of Aire vnder their owne subiection: the same Aire being a place well fenced, and set in such a convenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and carriage to come to Antwerpe, Sphebelin and Burela.

The Scots eras an- tiently used to lay by the sea.

Robert Sparwell bade together to earle Spoxton sent against captain Lamie.

Captaine Lamie & Cranes were overthrown.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwene the lord Sparwell earle Spoxton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lord of Johnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enmitie begun in the time of Droglass earle Spoxton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurle burle the lord of Johnstane behaued himselfe verie rigorously against the lord Sparwell, in blowing vp with gunpowder the locks of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Droglass earle Spoxton, continuing betwene the lord Sparwell and Johnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought a fresh reuenge thereof, with the lord Johnstane had not (before this) either power or means to encounter with the lord Sparwell. But now the ladie Johnstane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of James Stewart earle of Arrane) obtained of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Sparwell earle Spoxton, his husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Whereupon capitaine Lamie and captain Cranes were sent with two companies of backbuts vnto the releife of the lord of Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie thereabout to assist him with their powers: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue joined with the said two capitaines Lamie and Cranes. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth quite

1583 A contention betwene the earle Spoxton and the lord Johnstane.

The castles Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lord Johnstane forced to flee.

Ladie Johnstane hath a son of the king.

The lord Sparrow compounded the contention betwene earle Spoxton and the lord Johnstane.

quite contrary to our determination. So the lard Johnstane was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Spoxton (whose headfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuises of his enemies, a needfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnstane, and wiselie (as behoued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to encounter, and iudging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischiese, and to stop their passage, did prepare to prevent all their deuises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Sparwell capteine of Langholme with some horsemen and footmen under the conduct of James Fraiser brother to the lord of Fullozth, which Robert meeting on Craiford mere with the foresaid capitaine Lamie and Craneffane, before that they had ioined with the lard Johnstane gaue the charge vpon them, and that so ferce as they ouerthrew the whole strength of his enemies, due Lamie, toke Craneffane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who sought their liues by the benefit of fleeing. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, vied the helpe of other meanes when he perceived that force would not preuaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he vied the strength of one element against another, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all speed he hastened to the lands of the earle Spoxton, which he cruellie spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers trees, Duncoll, Colowhill, and such like. Wherevpon the earle Spoxton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie serued, sought the requital thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnstane, bitterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castles of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Johnstane, and due sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnstane, being persons of good sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Melanestrane, some of the sons of John of Johnstane of Holgill, with others. Which done, the earle Spoxton proceeded vnto further pursuit, and determining faulte to reuenge himselfe vpon Johnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnstane himselfe to flee his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonthato castell belonging to Edward Wyuine of the Bonthato, whome the earle pursued, and besieged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castell with artillery, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceived of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parley, and so to composition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended between them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnstane. But the coles of inward griefe being couered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Johnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Spoxton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst forth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worst,

for the lard Johnstane, he was taken between Linwall and the Ellarben ditches (where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Sparwell comming from the towne of Domfretes to Langham from the earle Spoxton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castell named Craffe) being by the earle Spoxton appointed to encounter with the said lard Johnstane: which this baron was the more willing to do, because he intrelie loved the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

These things thus perfozmed and the successe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Spoxton, that he was scarce able to susteine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Johnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperat the cause against him, and partlie by the perswasion & lamentation of the ladie of Johnstane, whereof the last was enimie to the earle, as of dutie he ought in respect of his husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie besides all reason against earle Spoxton, because that Spoxton refused to exchange the baronies of Poke and Sparwell betwix with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined nere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deliuered others of no lesse value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Minneile for the same) yet Spoxton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yield thereto: as well for that Sparwell betwix was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had, and whereof they toke the name of lord Sparwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Sparwells, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue bene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Sparwells so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Sparwell lard of Petwarke, and William Sparwell lard of Poke.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parliament in Spate, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherein he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publickly to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were under his gouernment, sith he was not bound thereto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parliament enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king seemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of gouernment in the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. Vpon which law established, the earles of Angus and Spar, with diuers others of the tempozallie and the spiritualtie,

Robert Sparwell base brother to earle Spoxton sent against capitaine Lamie.

Captaine Lamie & Craneffane ouerthrowen.

The castles Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnstane forced to flee.

The lord Scrope compounded the contention betweene earle Spoxton and the lard Johnstane.

The lard Johnstane taken.

The king displeased with earle Spoxton for the cause of the lard Johnstane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Spoxton.

The Sparwells would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

as Andzeto Meluine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were informed for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countrie, and to sit into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to provide for the safetie of their persons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton unto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned upon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Botoglasse were summoned to the court upon suspicion that they were consenting and conelcing to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donthasell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Bathkist, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which John Hoppingell of the Moyses was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Keler with the lord Spatus and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donthasell and the lord Spatus were executed, with the lord Ruthwine earle of Gowrie, treasurer of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration upon the said acts of parliament, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those lawes, with a further explanation also of the same lawes deliuered in that declaration with these wordes.

The kings maiesties declaration of his acts confirmed in parlement.

As much as there is some still affected with men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impaire the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the free passage of the gospell, god order and discipline in the church: which byrtes are maintained by rebellious subjects, who would glablie cover their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion (albeit there can be no god religion in such as raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their native soueraigne, and perturbedlie doth stand against the duty, band, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue subscribed) therefore that his maiesties faithfull subjects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse good affectionat friends in other countries made vnderstand the verities of his vpright intention, his highnesse hath commaunded this breife declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in ppate one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, to be published and imprinted, to the effect that the indired practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes may be detected and discovered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approveth the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the goodnesse of God established with in this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his high-

nesse is able to conuince and overthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happy wherein a philosopher reigneth, or he that reigneth is a philosopher) we make much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his god subjects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospell euerie where, he being a king of great wisdom, and by his birth right bozne to great possession; but much more his highnesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and dallie increase of all heauenlie sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties recall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the fauour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the miserie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie sotelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall member appointed by the lawe of God, to see God glorified, vice punished and vertue maintained within his realme: and the soueraigne iudgment of a goodlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to appertene to his highnesse care and sollicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their native king (by the instigation of seditious vniuersities) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andzeto Meluine of a salt and sterie humor, usurping the pulpit of sundrie, without anie lawfull calling, and prittie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundae, to inflame the hartis of the people by oblious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and counsell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their native king, and not by popular sermons (which hath bene the euersoon and decaye of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past byed disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturb the countrie. The said master Andzeto being called before his highnesse, presumptionlie answered that he would not be iudged by the king and counsell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or deed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gracious prince) was not willing to haue be

sed ante rigor against the said matter Andzeio, if he had humble submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon: who notwithstanding afraid of his owne guiltinesse, being pained to bluers conspirators before fled out of the realme, whose nightie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common ppointe be heareth *Ex mala moribus bona leges nata sunt*, which is, that of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in this deed it wanteth not ane right intolerable arrogancie in ane subject called before his ppointe, professing and authorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to ascribe (as manie do) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters do onelie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgement of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernours, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitive church, in which the emperors being iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the counsell holden at Eirus, and by infinit god reasons which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other fenerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie proued and verified. But this appeareth at this present to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were ane question of this land of heresie, whereby the ppointed mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched forth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperors haue used: and his maiestie following their example would allow the counsell of learned pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such controversies in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken ane deepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, joining themselves to rebels haue travelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might embrace ane sinister opinion of his maiesties vpright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and god order might decaye; but rather to preserve, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, iustices, conestables, shiriffes, ppointes, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preserved in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was used to be convenient, twise in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie trial of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies reseruing to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them do amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such manner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie

immunitie, ppointe, and exemption, which onelie was intended by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the scepter of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie, under pretence of newe inuented presbyteries, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop under his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maiesties intention to repress, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parliament dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parliament. Which act speciallie concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselves to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subjects, usurpe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, subject to a christian prince. The perill thereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthrow of his maiesties estate, the decaye of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby insue in this land, I will onelie set downe one, whereby they may understand that perill was in the rest.

The ambassadoe of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the ppointes, bailiffes, and conestable of Edinburgh to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honorable according to the amitie of ancient times betwene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the saturday by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on the saturday in the morning, and presumptuously determined & agreed, that the ministers of Edinburgh should proclaime a fasting vpon the same mondaie; where their fenerall ministers one after another made three fenerall sermons, and inuectiues against the ppointes, bailiffes, and counsell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie, who repaired to the banquet at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarcelie by his maiesties authoritie could be withhelden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obteing onelie his highnesse lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Im gentium*, requires towards ambassadors of foreign countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed direclie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath joined themselves with his maiesties rebels; and sining forth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discouraged what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in tyme provided remedie.

The

The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemble of the whole cleargie in the realme: under pretence whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauourers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised many enterprises in the realme; where there was no certaine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended by the said generall convention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeeded unto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

* which is one
of the estates
of parliament,

This generall assemble amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his maiesties regents in his minority, that the estate of bishops should be maintained and authorized, as is registered in the booke of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was observed many yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their diocesse, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundee, and Glasgou, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, took upon them contrarie to their owne handwritting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings counsell or parliament, without commission obtained from their assemble: that they should confirme nothing in parliament and counsell, but according to their acts and instructions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the counsell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue effected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselves, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parliament and counsell, might be authorized in place of the estate: whereby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most goodlie, learned, wise, and experienced of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an old consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there any other appearance that they should haue staied from such daile alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they maintained by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemble was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certaine times appoint generall fastings throughout the realme: especially, when some factioner in the countie was to moue any great enterpryse. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemble to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certaine great alterations

to haue ensued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretence of the last fast was discovered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudicialle to his estate.

But especially his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemble being met at Edinburgh, did authorize and allow the fact perpetrated at Ruthuen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which deed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parliament accounted to be treason; the said assemble esteeming their iudgement to be the soueraigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approved the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemble, and the lawes of the estate directed, were in civil matter, with the which the assemble should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemble, which in deed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall counsell at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperor for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than any of them had in the empire. Pea the bishop of S. Andrews had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before by his highnesse most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maye fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of any diocesse or province, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euery parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discret men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the oversight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be any notable offence, worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and executions to follow thereupon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maye find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their desertings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and goodlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as appertene to the vniiformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maye be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maye be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclaimed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretence thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentieth act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the oversight and iurisdiction, euery one in their owne diocesse: which forme of gouernement,

and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continuall succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also this realme embraced and receiued the christian religion, the same estate hath bene maintained, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without ante interruption, vntill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce into the ministration an equalitie in all things, aswell concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the solicitude & care of all churches in one diocese to appertene to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becommeth his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euerie one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministration: but it becometh his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerseers vnder him which maie be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing access to his maiesties parlement and counsell, maie intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministration, propound their grieues vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties fauorable answer thereon. The which forme doth preserve a goodlie quietnesse, vntill, concord and peace in the estate, and one vniforme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie vniuersally the same, and vnder the pretense of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtle dealers to be aduanced and enriched: and in pretending of partie, to seeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboute the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath re-established the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to doe within his diocese what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of ante-popular confusion, wherein (as the proverbe saith) Nulla tyrannis equiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandment and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in ante-graue matter, be limited to the counsell of wise men of the most ancient, wise, and goodlie persons of his diocese, selected out of the whole synodall assemblee of the prouince: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandment, that their bishops and commissioners shoulde in the yeare, to wit ten daies after Easter, and the first of September, hold their synodall assemblee in euerie diocese, for the keeping of god orders the better: and if ante be stubborn, or continue within their

bounds the god order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their desertings. Next ther is it his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission or dinarie, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patron, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen any of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensive in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding any priuilege of his highnesse estate, counsell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemblee, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrie, the enterpryse, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministration within those bounds, maie be most commodiously once in euerie fixtē daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all lawfull meetings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministration increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandment is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who maie haue the oversight of these bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synod; and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modification of stipends: that all things maie be orderlie done in the church, peace & quietnesse maintained in the realme, and we delivered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expresse forbids vnder the paines contained in his maiesties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrarie at his maiesties sight & counsell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnesse maie be certeinly informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not to meddle with ante-ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: which his highnesse wisheth them faithfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie maie in a prosperous reigne enioie god and long life, and continue and increase in the feare of the almighty.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth,

The kings intention drawne into certeine articles, and published in print.



His maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospell, and preaching thereof within his realme.

2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiously abuse the truth, and factiously applie or rather betwaine the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his highnesse and counsels honour.

3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experiented pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expressed.

4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of god order in euerie paroch, certeine overseers to the god behauiour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or bisshour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministrie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblie, shall render account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of lining shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burden.

6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their counsels and synods: but if anie of them doe amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or fraile anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitive church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not fearfully of the estate.

8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further toller at in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their counsels and synods.

9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not anie generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obtained therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an vniuersall order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his counsell, his highnesse deputie.

11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch findeth necessitie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their counsell, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull, as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his counsell prescribe anie publicke humillation.

12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall counsell, wher in his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their counsell proceed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a counsell, that both tyrannie and confusion may be avoided in the church.

14 It is his maiesties intention, that commissi-

oners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministers, whose travels they esteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie serue in an other place.

These things was the king faine to publish, to fraile the enill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which seemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the due tie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrences of Scotland. And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather because the same consisteth of three estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whome it seemeth to me that they haue set their light. Touching which, Lelcus in his Scottish historie lib. i. pag. 75. vnder the title of Leges Scotorum, writeth in this sort. Qui vero seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descripserunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerunt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latine scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quod ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiū (quæ populari sermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quanquam hæc aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe fit) incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessarium censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquisitè inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publico latis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam. On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to keepe such parlement attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdome and kinglie and holie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) those common people with manie times giue such his names as seemeth best fitting to themselves, and is most answerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we also doe here in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbear, and onelie set downe one proofe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, leaue in parting it ouer without some example thereof. I might make a baine the to of knowledge continuing in manie words, without anie sound matter, & therefore I will not. That as in England in the year of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight, being the two and fiftith year of the reigne of king Henrie the sixth, the parlement

The run
parlement

Lelcus.

15

The parliament of Scotland consisted of three estates.

Parlements
nicknames.

The made
parlement.

went held at Oxford by the lords against the king, was called *Parlamentum infernum*, because many things were there intreated which turned to the death of diverse noble men. So the Scots in like manner bynamed a parliament, in the yeare of April 1556, (being the fourteenth yeare of Sporis the now imprisoned queene of Scotland) and called the same a running parliament, because there were many intermissions and remissions during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Lelcus in these words.

The running parliament.

Lelcus.

A state frequenter habita fuit Edinburgi trium ordinum communitas, in quibus domini Brunsvicius, Geringius, Delmuntius, & alij magni quorundam bona a gubernatore publicata fuerunt, singulari regis Francia commendatione dignata, fama atque bonis rebus fuit. Hac vero communitas, quod intermissa potius quam omnia, quasi continuarentur, nomen a videri acceptum, ut contenta dicerentur. Quis mirum habet scire, quod de his parliaments, let us againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland.

1585

About this time an ambassage was sent out of England into Scotland, for the concluding of a peace betwene both nations; the contents whereof, the king (opening unto the lords and gentlemen assembled in parliament, and holden at saint Andrews) had ble unto them this speech following.

The kings speech to the estates, concerning a league in religion with England.



IWoe causes my lordis and ye all of the estates have moved me to send for you at this time to craue your aduise towards them, quharof sith the one is generall & the other particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greatest weight. Amongst all the benedictis that God doth bestow vpon his elect and church, the triall and sifting of the god chosin from the bad hypocritis, is one of the most speciall, quhich be both vled in all ages for the separation of thame, althow for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt the goodie, as also that their separation is a taken in this earth, of Godis love towards them, quhich triall be doth now chafelie vbe, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in these latter daies, quherin God doth permit the diuell most to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the basard christians, I meane the papists in a league quhich they terme holie, albeit most unholie in varie truch, for the subuersion of the true religion in all realmes through out the quhole warld. This is a matter so manifest and notorious to you all, euen by the report of the smallest merchantis that traualle, as it doth dilat the selfe, thought I were silent.

This leagues quhome of I speake, are composed of Frenchmen and Spainiards, assisted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, solennlie sworn to performe the foresaid enterprise before they leane armis: the perswasions quherof we ought to resist for these causes (to wit) for conscience, honor, and love of selfis. For gif they wane attaine to their purpose (as God forbid) either will they destroye or cast out be, our vills and churche in, quhat shewer we possesse, gif we remaine constant; either else must we render Christ Jesus, and suffer our soules with the mass habell part of man to be bound with the bonds of idolatrie, and our bodies to be vled at their inuidiust pleasures. But sith the love of our selfis and our honour cannot pervert the ane, nor that our consciences and the remembrance vnto God, cannot suffer the other: I craue my lordis your well & sound opinionis and aduise quhat ye thinke best to be vled for the remedie hereof. But gif ye desire to see how my

opinions, it is this in this locale; that as sundrie christian princes have already counselled me, our contraleague shall make not ane lie intermis, but in effect holie, for the joining togidder all true christian princes to defend themselves in case of libertis transgression. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for selfis, acceptable to God, and vble in the sight of the warld. By this meanes fall our consciences, honors, and liues be preserved, and God and his religion glorified and aduanced.

And sith the queene of England is not anlie a true christian, but also merest loinit to be in neighbourhood, confaminitie and goodwill, I thinke it writt in mine opinions, that it be our league first and maine aduantage with hir; for quhich cause I have made and set to some forme of act to be subscribed by you all, quherin ye promise to ratifie and approve in parliament, quhatsoeuer articles I, or anie in my name shall conclude with the queene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and effecting of the foresaid league. But for that the act it selfe will more ample informe you, it shall presentlie read in all your audiencies.

Upon this speech the lords being of diuerse opinions, some willing to embrace the league with England, and some desirous to leave it, and to loine in amitie with France according to the most ancientest leagues, which haue bene established betwene them and the Scots by most of their former kings (whereof the first was Athanas, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation on thereof, which was the flower delices added to the arms of Scotland) there was nothing done in that convention. After which, the banished lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: and after some abode there made, vpon diuerse meetings & consultations, at last gathered their powers, and on the first of November they pitched their tents, placed there as it had bene a new tostone, to the great terror of their enemies within Scotland: determining for the cause of their comming this proclamation following.

The proclamation published by the nobilitie of Scotland, containing the causes of their repairing towards the towne of Sterling to the kings maiestie, the second daie of November.



WHERAS the kings maiestie our soveraignes good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainlie understood to have bene abused, and his roiall qualities given to him by the almighty God (which caused his fame far above the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath bene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no desert or worthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not borne to one soe breadth of land, yet of marvellous aspiring toprings and cruel inclination; who under colour of friendship and blood creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion, shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vied amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtill fies and bloudie toyls, by exercising of laves and other deceitfull practises, both so wasteful, toyme in peces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie receiued of our ancestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spiritual or temporall estate;

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state; but the naked shaddow & counterfeit mask thereof to our sovereigns high dishonour, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie griefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne that iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subjects; what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what daile hope of increase, what expectation was of his highnesse in forein nations, before the arrivall of Abegnie, afterwards called the duke of Lennox, and the entring in credit of James Stewart, and cojonell Stewart with their unhappie companies. But what hath succeeded since, no true Scottish hart can remember without extreme dolour: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subjects, & to keepe the strengths of their realms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserve themselves against such inconveniences, as manie princes of that land misgoverned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue bene subiect unto) that the foresaid abusers had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them late. For the chiefe strengths of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who byragging of his pedegree by descent from duke Dordacke (one that was beheaded for his treason against his sovereign) was not ashamed to faise (meaning of himselfe) where stands the person of king James the seventh. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made unable to punish them, if at any time hereafter he should perceiue their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these said seditious hath already done in that behalfe, seeing under his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialitie is used in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subjects (upon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) clerelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed unto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agoone by vniuersall male-contentment of the people (proceeding from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings leges hearts, and had cast his maiesties hono, crowne, and estate in marvellous danger; whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subjects are certeinlie persuaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnes in euerie respect, which hath bene these yeres past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & seke for their particular commoditie, the destruction of certein feuerall persons; but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

The worstest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue giuen best proofe of their forwardnes in true religion, and fidelitie to their sovereign) are by parcialitie, and wresting of lawes, without mercie either executed, conspired, imprisoned, banished, or at the least debared his maiesties presence, against the ministrie, scholles, and clergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlia-

ments, proceedings, or at the least by laudable customs permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiasticall discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie & examine the liues, manners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or depriued of their stipends, Jesuits, seminarie priests, and such as be knowne practisers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie counsell of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in session, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie & faithfull senators haue bene by them delected. An euident presage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of burrowes, by intrusion of such magistrats to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgesses, nor apt to discharge them selues of such offices, but men elected to applause and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, their priuileges & ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenly decaye. So as these three pillars (whereby the king & common wealth should be preserved & vpholde) being wasted & vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie prevent the same. Besides all these, the foresaid abusers not resting content with the enormities aboue expressed, haue practised, and daile do practise to tume the happy amitie & loue, which now a good space hath stood betwene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostilitie & hatred, without respect of neighborhood or kindred, standing betwene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that his maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our sovereign, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preserving his maiestie, when as in his minority he could not take in hand or enterprise for himselfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with such persons as by all meanes sought his maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie his maiesties rebels lately executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceiued open danger to arise, by open dealing with his enemies, then fraudfullie to include his maiestie, they haue pretended these months past, in great friendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a bond offensive and defensive to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue bene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a young noble man, for his birth and qualittes verte honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and god affection to the king our sovereign, and to all Scottish men in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable maner, euen when as greatest kindnes and friendship was pretended; which cannot but produce marvellous suspicion and slander, as well against the king our sovereign, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonour, and discredit of his innocent subjects, if condigne iustice be not ministered vpon the authors, and the executors of the horrible crime aforesaid.

Alas, which is most of all, and necessarilie craueth present reformation, the foresaid abusers couer all these enormities with his maiesties name and authority, thereby thinking to excuse themselves, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie slanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath alreadie made shipwrecks of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his companie: so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of beggerlie fellows replenished with all vice, should extinguish the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empyre ouer the whole countrie, and keepe his maiestie thall to authoritie by his totall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the causes aforesaid, and manie others that might be said, we of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our soveraignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangell, and borne counsellors to his highnesse our soveraigne, bound in dutie not onelie to hazard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the same euangell and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be carefull of his maiesties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitors of this memorie.

In consideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our selues together for redresse and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath alreadie wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost disioined aswell the hearts of the princes as of the subiects of the two nations: we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperat and enemie persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maiestie, peaceablie, and iustlie gouerne his subiects and realme, by aduise of graue, modest, and indifferent counsellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suertie and preservation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in preiudice of the same, maie be solemnlie cancelled, and for euer aduulled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by punishing of vice cheslie vpon the authors of these late misorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once disburdened of the heauie oppressions and iniuries that they haue with no small greife so long sustained, and the happie amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our soveraigne, and vniuersall contentment of all good men euerie where. In prosecution whereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our liues, lands, nor goods, but shal franklie hazard and expend the same as need craveth, vntill the said abusers be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits; or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maiesties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our soveraignes lords name) all and sundrie his subiects, as well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this goodlie enterprise, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the advancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme; certifieng all and sundrie that both

attempt aie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, authors of the treasonable conspirators aforesaid, and enemies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authority, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, & will vse them in bodie and goods accordingly. And that all iudices as well lords of sessions as iuricks, commissioners, and other inferior iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and bittermost perill, with certification of the discolor, as is aforesaid.

The assemble of the nobilitie and the proclamation thus knowne, diuerse matters passed betwixt the king and the lords, as petitions to and fro made and exhibited, with grants therevnto according: and to conclude, much congratulation was made for retorne into their countrie of Scotland. In December there was a parlement called at Lithgo, at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced from his earldome, and (if I erre not) of vice of chancellorschip: the remembrance whereof hath induced me to record some things touching some such persons as haue possessed that dignitie.

The names and times of certeine chancellors of Scotland, gathered out of the histories of that nation.



William Walsingham, bishop of Dunblaine was
chancellor to William king of Scots,
which began his reigne in the yeare of
Christ 1185, as some haue (but Lesleus,
lib. 6. pag. 1160, whose account herein is false) and
continued in that office at the time of the death of
the said William, which fell in the yeare of Christ
1214. After whose death he was by Alexander the
second confirmed in the same place of chancellor.

John Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of
Robert the second of that name, and the first of the
house of the Stewards which wore the crowne) was
chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauour
with the said Robert the second, married the lady
Elizabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whom
he had in frankie marriage diuerse possessions called
Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of
which Lion is that surname descended, who in me-
more of that marriage beare in their armes the li-
ons and lillies, with the tressle in such forme as the
king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their
lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath
noted. Which Lion being chancellor was slain in
the yeare of our Lord 1380, being about the tenth
yeare of the same Robert the second, who after ban-
ished the earle of Crauford.

Gilbert Glenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, being chan-
cello about the yeare of Christ 1411, in the vacan-
cie of the kingdome, vnder duke Spotsbacke, be-
twixt the death of Robert the second (which fell in
the yeare of Christ 1406, and the beginning of the
reigne of James the first, in the yeare of our Lord
1426) was sent ambassado into France with other
noble men of Scotland. After which ambassage
in France this Gilbert liued not verie long: for
Henrie the eighth, who came thorth in his place
of the bishopricke, was with other sent ambassado into
England, to fetch home James the first, and to in-
uest him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Crichton knight, whom Lesleus termeth
the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chan-
cello to James the first, was (in the yeare 1433, a-
bout the ninth yeare of the same king James) with
the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepburne of Hales,
sent

William Walsingham

John Lion

Gilbert Glenlaw

William Crichton

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliver the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobey, but permitted them to enter accordingly. After this in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie five, & the eleventh of the same king, he was sent ambassado: into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good service being well rewarded, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the government of Scotland, in the yeare of our Lord 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorie, beside which he had the government of the kings person, and of the castle of Edinburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betwene sir Alexander Levingston the governor of the realme and this chancello:, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, whereby ensued much mischief and bloodshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minority and the insufficiency of kings) at what time the quene taking part with the governor against the chancello:, found means by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancello:, after that he had hand somelie trusted by the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the gouernour besieged the chancello: in the castell of Edinburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creichton should still keepe the castle of Edinburgh and his office of chancello:.

James the
second.

That done, in the yeare one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancello: obtained to haue the quene Dowager, and hir husband James Steward lord of Lorne released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the gouernour. Which done, the chancello: keeping in mind the deceit of the quene, in ouer-reaching him by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the gouernour to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke, that he found means that he onelie accompanied with foure & twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling park) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edinburgh, wherewith the gouernour was greivously displeased: but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betwene the chancello: & him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancello:, and the gouernour continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the gouernour and the chancello: assemble a councell of the nobilitie at Edinburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the gouernour and the chancello: (at the perswasion of William earle of Douglas) were removed from their offices by the king, who being now about fouretien yerres old, had taken the absolute government of the kingdome upon him; besides which they were also put from the councell, the friends were banished the court, and they were forbidden to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as gillie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enemies, whereupon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the horn, which occasioned William Douglas the chancello: his great enmity to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall thereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entered the land

of Douglas, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Douglas, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and five, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the castles of Edinburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to do until the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, hauing therein no interie done vnto him, so as faith

10 Lesseus: Primus omnium sanciuerat Creichtonus, ut qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violata maiestatis arceatur, cuius ille legis poenam primus subiit, as he did which deuised Phalaris bull. But after, when the king had besieged Edinburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was deliuered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancello:, which obtained, he neuer after delt in affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie & six, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassado: to the duke of Gelderland to obtaine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding, in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and seven, forsaaken, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it seemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Douglas (supposing him to be the cause that the king disliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was coming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped vnto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Douglas, and had destroyed the earle at that present, if he had not shifted a waie more speditie: who being thus dishonorable chased from Edinburgh, betwene the erle of Crawford and Rosse to ioinc with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting god for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand four hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, greivously fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earldome of Surteie was given to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniu: sentence of William earle of Douglas, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Douglas, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not keepe that earldome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendered the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathness, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I do now intreat by reason of this chancello:.

Lesseus lib. 1.
pag. 297.

James
the
second.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancello: of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thre score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Denmarke to conclude a marriage with the king of Denmarke, betwene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which lable he brought with him into Scotland in Iulie, at what time they were married accordingly. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ

one thousand four hundred four score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Gloucester were come unto Rastburg with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honors and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the government of the king, done for a certaine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the quene at Sterling, the duke by the quenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton

James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe was chancellor in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred & thirtene, being the first peare of king James the first. This man being of great wisdom, was appointed amongst others to assist the quene in the government of the realme, whereunto she was for a time advanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediatlie after the marriage, performed the first of August, in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred and foure score, betwene hir and Archibald Botuglasse earle of Angus (which this bishop incountred as much as he could take the great seale from the said bishop of Glasgowe, at saint Johns towne, whereupon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assisted with manie lords, kept the quene and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great dissention and part taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, he continueth with the earle of Arrane, who submitted himselfe to the governour. Shortly following, the governour gave to this archbishop of Glasgowe the abbacie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Arrane a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in favor with the governour, was in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, when the governour went into France, appointed, amongst others, to have the rule of the realme until his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being divided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this bishop in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glasgowe; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edinburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadors came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one state, or what peace will be long embraced amongst ambitious humors: for in the peare following, being the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thwentye, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when dwelt of the parties were come to Edinburgh to aide the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they put down the earle and chancellor to hostile, that they were both constrained to forsake the towne, and to flee through the north Loch, about the thirtieth date of April. But as the events of quarels be doubtfull, now up now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recovered breath; and in pouerment following, did accompanie the regent come out

of France to Edinburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refusing, it was agreed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus having the better of his enemies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the peare one thousand five hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth peare of James the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor James Beton bishop of Glasgowe was advanced to that see, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which new honor, in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, he was appointed one of the governours of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor any long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his blured government, and denied the delineries of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great seale, which was delivered to the messengers: upon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of divorce sued before him, betwene the quene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and six, take for the quene and the bishop of saint Andrews: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbacie of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop keeping in favor with the old quene and the young king, did in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and nine, and the sixteenth peare of James the first, christen James the kings sonne bozne at saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said peare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not graue me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tongue; to deprivie the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writeth.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublice honoribus summaque gloria apud nos quam diutissime floruerat, ætate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat, ac in æde sancti Andree tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuis constituebat, ut in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbatiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentiæ, & animi magnitudine præstans David Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbatiam verò Dumferlingensem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impediuit, quo minus illi, quos archiepiscopus antè obitum constituerat, beneficijs liberè fruerentur: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur recedisse. Hic archiepiscopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitasse, ac maximam pecuniæ vim quæ reliqua pars indidara perpolliretur, testato reliquit: verum pecuniæ illa in alios viuis postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acris dicam) perierat. Thus much Lesle; and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of saint Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glasgowe, and the kings scholemaster, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in the peare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, writeth: Non multo post Andreas Formannus episcopus

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 450.

copus Santandreapolitanus vitā cessit, huius quā primū honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Beton-
nus archiepiscopus Glasguensis, qui quidem archi-
episcopus omnium summa voluntate cessit prætatis-
simo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quod
recōditæ cruditionis, sinceræ vitæ consilijque graui-
ssimi laudibus prætiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus
doctrinæque informanda credebatur, quem intimis
sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi concilij socium,
regniq; cancellarium postea illum cooptauerat.

David Beton (the brothers sonne of James Be-
ton deceased archbishop of saint Andrews) was
chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth,
was with others sent ambassadoꝝ into France in
the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thir-
tie and foure, being the one and twentieth yeare of
the gouernment of James the first, for to procure the
earle of Maudolmes sister in marriage for the king;
but the same toke not effect, because the king going
in person into France liked hir not. About thre
yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one
thousand five hundred thirtie and seuen, and the
four and twentieth yeare of James the first, this Da-
uid was advanced to the honoꝝ of a cardinall, of
which title I do not at this time remember, that e-
uer I haue read anie other to haue intioed but Wal-
ter Marblaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth:

Two cardi-
nals onlie in
Scotland.

Walterus episcopus Glasguensis presbyter cardina-
lis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua.
6 pontificatus Clemētis 7, obiit inter annum 1400,
8c. 1409, whome the Scotch histories make cardin-
all somewhat before in the yeare one thousand
thre hundred fourscore and two, about the eleuenth
yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others
he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassa-
doꝝ to renew the league betwene France & Scot-
land) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom
also the king of France gaue in commendam the
bishopske of Aptropen: of the making of which Be-
ton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: Da-
uid de sancto Andrea Scotus episcopus Miropiensis
presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Celio
monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend.
Ianuar. per Paulum tertiu, anno pontificatus 12. In
which words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him,
refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare
one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though
others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five
hundred thirtie and seuen. In which yeare one
thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was
with others sent ambassadoꝝ into France after the
death of the queene, to procure Marie of Lorraine
widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the
duke of Guise, to be giuen to king James in mari-
age; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ
one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as
you haue heard before, he was by his vnckle James
Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, & abbat of Ar-
broth, appointed to succed in the same bishops see
and abbete, which he intioed accordingly: who ad-
vanced with these dignities, did after the death of
James the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one
thousand five hundred fortie and two, labor by po-
licies and other extraordinarie deuises to be gouer-
noꝝ of the realme, during the minority of the yong
queene; but he was disappointed thereof by the no-
bilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that func-
tion; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall dissen-
sions betwene the nobilitie, which ended not untill
this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appeare.
For thortie after in the said yeare one thousand five
hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward
(in the castle of Dalkeith vnder the custodie of the

lord Beton, smallie fauoring the French faction) be-
cause he would haue persuaded the nobilitie to for-
sake the motion of the K. of England, determining
to marie his son prince Edward to the yong queene
of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine
there; for by the gouernors appointment he was
removed to his owne castell of S. Andrews, hauing
watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept,
in which place also he did not long continue; for cor-
rupting his keepers he found meanes to escape; which
done, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie
and thre, he came to the coronation of the yong
queene, and thortie after persuaded the earle of Ar-
rane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of
England, and wholie to become French.

But at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all
things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into
great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose
of the common-wealth as seemed best liking vnto
him. Whereupon, the earle of Lennox taking part
with the English, opposed himselfe against the go-
uernor and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe
warres, the cardinall still suppoꝝing and counsel-
ling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat
abated, by reason the earle of Lennox was gone in-
to England, the cardinall in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, receiued
the patriarch of Jerusalem arrived in Scotland.
In which meane time, there was great contention
betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glas-
cow, for bearing their crosses in the others iurisdic-
tion: whereupon they fell from words to sword,
which the gouernor appeased: that done, the patri-
arch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured
the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall,
which he long intioed not. For being greaſtie en-
raged by reason of these honoꝝ & some greuous facts,
certeine persons in the yeare one thousand five hun-
dred fortie and six (after that he had burned George
Wilschart a learned man, condemned at saint An-
drews by an assemble of bishops) in the thirtenth
date of Aprill (when they had secretlie in the morning
entered the castell of saint Andrews where the car-
dinall was) expell the porters of the foresaid castell,
the cardinals seruants, and slue the cardinall naked
as he came to mate them, whose death sir James
Lermount prouost of saint Andrews thought to
haue staied by assembling a power therefore: but
after that he saw the cardinals dead bodie hanged
out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The
death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors
eares, he banished the author thereof, as writeth Les-
leus in these words: Gubernator, quod nec cognato
suo sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec
cancellarij maiestas ac domus propria, ad impio-
rum insidias effugas quicquam prohibere, ager-
rius ferre. Consilio itaque Huntley ac Argadij iuau
indicto, in cardis auctores capitis proſcriptionis que
sententia data est.

George Gordon earle of Huntley sonne of John
Gordon, being chancellor of Scotland, in the yeare
of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and se-
uen, falling about the first yeare of the reigne of Ma-
rie queen of Scots, was taken prisoner by the Eng-
lish at Brunelborow fielde, who pittieing the miserie
of diuerse of his countreymen, wounded and taken
at the same battell, did undertake for their ransom;
whereupon they were permitted to depart, and left
to shift for themselves as well as they might. In the
next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath
Lesleus one thousand five hundred fortie and eight)
the protector of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and
senator to the protector of England, to request
Huntley, or at the least to obtaine that his wife
might

Lesleus lib. 12.
pag. 481.

George
Gordon.

But
the q

holle might come unto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Spozher, where expecting his wife, he thought upon his escape, and from thence after supper, deceiving his warders, he fled by night into Scotland; through the aid of one George Carre his deere friend, who provided him speedie horses therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was to fullie interteined of the quene, the gouernor, and the other nobilitie; but chieflie of his wife, whose earnest desire to see him was the occasion of his escape. But as all iolie hath some hard hap for the most part attending upon the same; so this earle did after feele the force of like misfortune. For about seven yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appeare. Before which, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the quene mother of Scotland; but before that iourne, whilest he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Spachintoch chiefe of the Glenchatins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conspiracy made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succeeded to great slaughters (in that the earle of Castels and manie others sauoyed Spachintoch) if the wisdom of the quene mother had not appeased the same.

After that the quene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntley warlike fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them, returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had bene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntley into Heitland to take John Hudziad: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edinburgh the eleventh of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, toke away the great seale from this earle Huntley the chancelor, and gaue it to monsieur Rubie a Frenchman, which monsieur Rubie thus made keeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie quene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntley then chancelor in ward. But the earle of Huntley after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancelor. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Arrerie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Arrere, the farmes of Dhenetie & Heitland, and the quenes land at Straitdale, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scottish histories named still chancelor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and one, and the nineteenth yeare of quene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priuie council. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quene hauing received a bill of supplication from the protestants: Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis definirer, reddidit.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the same quene, he was in the faction betwene him and others (for diuerse misdeemeanors also, upon his coming with an armie

to Cornethie in Par) slain, and John Gordon his sonnetaken prisoner, brought to Aberdine the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I do not intend to make any double recitall of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to do; & therefore, because Omne nimium vitium (whereof the lawiers agree saing; that Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora) I will referre this for the supplement of this title of the chancellors, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leaving them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: I saye, that as the quene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quene of England, by whome he might haue knowledge of such things as were after done. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Grænewich, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Arrere, against such as seemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselves, embraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whom, one, not of the meaneest, the lord Sparwell, who had married the earle of Angus his sister, did in Januarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Lincolnden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Sparwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and upon the refusal of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edinburgh, where he long remained.

These things thus done in Scotland, the afore named maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentieth of Januarie, with answer that his maiestie of England would shortly send an ambassadoz into Scotland, who should satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the fall of his maiesties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & maners of the people, was by the quene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorized, toke his iourneie from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in April following, maister Archibald Botwell (one that had bene sometime of the session or parlement of Edinburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, upon displeasures which the king of Scots conceived against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so

Et. i.

wiselie,

Monsieur
Rubie keeper of
the great seale.

William Keith
sent from the king of Scots
to the quene of Eng-
land.

The lord
Sparwell heard
mass.

Maister
Randolph goeth
into Scotland.

isfelie, that he obtained great fauor after his re-
turne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they
had manie times done before, but especiallie in the
yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore
and thre, which I thought to note in this place, be-
cause I would not often vse repetition of one thing
done at severall times in so manie places) did ex-
communicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S.
Andzeus, and the rest of the bishops also, because
they would not in all their actions, support and con-
firme the doctrine which the presbyterie had esta-
blished. Which excommunication the presbyterie
did the more boldlie, because they were supported by
the assistance of the maister of Lindeise, a great eni-
mie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint An-
dzeus.

But the king in the beginning did assist him a-
gainst them, and the archbishop did in like sort thun-
der an excommunication against them. Which di-
uision not being mete to be in the cleargie, who
ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of
one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring
the same realme to confusion: for Omne regnum
in se diuisum desolabitur: which must needs be,
where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior
of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeie
anie superiours. In which place, I haue menti-
oned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint An-
dzeus, because I shall not haue occasion to speake
anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection
of all the archbishops of that see.

A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint Andrews, collected out of the histories of Scotland.



He Scots seeking meanes to rid them-
selues from subiection of the bishop of
Rome, who was the metropolitan of
Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred threescore and fouretene ob-
taine of the pope that they might haue a metropo-
litane see within themselves, by reason of the conti-
nuall wars which was betwene the two nations,
during which they could neither vse appellations to
their metropolitan, nor haue other bishops conse-
crated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S.
Andzeus into an archbishopricke in the time of king
James the third, touching which, thus writeth Les-
leus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare
of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and
fouretene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andreapolita-
nae ecclesiae episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a pa-
pa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana potestas in diui And-
reae ciuitate figeretur: iniqui esse enim contendit, vt
Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo, tanquam primate pe-
derent, cum propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti &
Angli mutuo laceflunt) Scotis ad illum non pate-
retur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, praesertim in ap-
pellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andrea-
politano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana
incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi
mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi no-
bilitumque laetitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Grah-
ami odio flagrant, illius auctoritatem repudiant, re-
gisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other
authors saie, eleuen thousand marks) occupant, ne
Grahami partibus studeret. Interea praesules Roma
mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum sus-
cipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaile. Gra-
ham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andzeus
and the first archbishop of that see: was after his ad-
uancement to that title deposed in this sort. In the

yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre-
score and seuentene, pope Nissus the fourth of that
name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland, Lesleus. lib. 8.
pag. 318.
which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of
saint Andzeus, condemned by the sentence of the
pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismaticke,
simoniacke, whereupon he was deposed of all ecclesi-
asticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall pri-
son; in whose place was William Schewes chosen,
to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was
committed, after which Graham being removed for
his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then
to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Lochelene, there
in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sarris
or Seruiniarius Ile in Lochelene after that he
had bene thre yeares archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of
saint Andzeus in the yeare of Christ one thousand
foure hundred threescore and eightene as some haue,
or one thousand foure hundred threescore and nine-
tene as others haue, in the Holie rood house in E-
denburgh, in the presence of king James and ma-
nie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne
of his metropolitane power, being declared legat
and primate of Scotland, at that time he was not
withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being e-
stranged from shewing anie fauor to Graham, did
often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled
the same Graham from his archiepiscopall see. Af-
ter which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure
hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes
fled into his owne countrie, and after at the request
of the king resigned his archbishopricke, contenting
himselfe with the bishopricke of Purrie.

Andzeus Steward vnckle to king James the third
was vpon the resignation of William Schewes
made archbishop of saint Andzeus; after which in
the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure-
score and foure the king sent this archbishop ambas-
sador to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuile-
ges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ
one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in
the time of king James the fourth, about the third
yeare of his reigne was great contention betwene
the archbishops of saint Andzeus and Glasgow,
touching both their authoritties: which when it had
drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions,
it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, vntill
all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding
the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iud-
ges. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare
of James the fourth, the bishop of saint Andzeus
with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassadors in-
to France.

Alexander Steward bassard sonne to king James
the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andzeus
in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and
ten, about the two and twentieth of the reigne of the
same James the fourth: this man hauing long stu-
died with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low
countries was aduanced to this see of the archbi-
shopricke when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing
intelligence thereof by his friends, came forthwith
into Scotland, where he was iustlie receiued by the
king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was slaine to-
gether with his father king James the fourth at
Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred and thirtene. After which, John Hepburne
prior of saint Andzeus stronglie besieging the ca-
stle of saint Andzeus, forced the same to be yeelded
vnto him. The cause of which bessege grew, that Hep-
burne being chosen bishop of saint Andzeus by his
canons of that church (wherevnto the whole nobilitie
were

William
Schewes.

Andzeus
Steward.

Lesleus.

1483

Alexander
Steward.

Lesleus. lib. 8.
pag. 353.

Left page 373.

were helpers) was hindered to possess that archbishopricke, by such stipendarie people of Calvine Dowlgasse as kept the castle; whereupon the queene and the earle of Angus, after that they understood how the castle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was so troublesome vnto them, should ascend to so high a dignitie, and that Calvine Dowlgasse so deuilie to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that bishopricke should be helpless of the recouerie thereof. Whereupon the queene and the duke of Albanie diligently labored by ambassadores sent to Rome, that a third person (sith Calvine Dowlgasse could not obtaine it) might be aduanced therevnto, which third man was Andrew Fozman bishop of Gurrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreatie they obtained of the pope.

Andrew Fozman.

Andrew Fozman bishop of Gurrie was at Edinburgh by the popes bulls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene (being about the second yeare of the reigne of James the first) declared archbishop of S. Andrewes, and abbat of Dumfermling and Aberbroth. Whereupon the prior of saint Andrewes before named, still contending that he was archbishop, both in respect of the election of the couent, and the consent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could against Fozman, appealing him to Rome, for which cause he with the lord Hales and other his friends came to Edinburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and such others as openly assisted Fozman, did oppose themselves against the prior, which nobilitie (because they were great in the court) did the more molest, and hinder Hepburne, who after by publike edict (and proclamation of the king) banishing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being stricken with the sharpnes of that precept, did pryncely depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wrest from Fozman the archbishopricke, which he could not obtaine by violence. But how he sped at Rome I do not know, for I onely find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene, about the third yeare of the same James the first, that the gouernor perceiuing that all these contentions, hatreds, and diuisions of the nobilitie did arise by these bualles, which were betwene Fozman and Hepburne for the see of saint Andrewes, desired to cure this greuous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he perswaded Andrew Fozman that he should resigne all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an open assemblee at Edinburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and utterly root out those breaches of dissention. Whereupon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to assemble: at what time Andrew Fozman freely resigned to the gouernor the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion, to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In consideration thereof, the duke bestowed the archbishopricke of saint Andrewes and the abbete of Dumfermling vpon the same Andrew Fozman, and gaue the bishopricke of Gurrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Fozman) being therevnto substituted by John Hepburne prior of saint Andrewes in place of the said John, to whom moreouer the duke appointed a yerelie pension of a thousand marks, to be paid by the same Fozman out of the abbete of Dumfermling. After which, about six yeares or somewhat lesse, this Fozman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, and the

ninth yeare of king James the first, to whom succeeded James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glasco and chan. James cello: of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint Andrewes (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Fozman, hauing therewith the abbete of Dumfermling, as his predecessor before had possessed it, of whom see more in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

David Beton brother to the same James Beton was after the death of the last archbishop of saint Andrewes named to that see by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordingly, after the death of the same James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberally in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being abbat of Passaie, was by the same gouernour in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortye and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie queene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andrewes, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortye & thre, being the first or second of queene Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, passed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did visit the king of England, of whom he was most honourable and courteouslie receiued. From thence going into Scotland he was made treasurer, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whom he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, being the seauententh of queene Marie, he was with the queene besieged in Leith. After still following the queenes part, he with others metely hir in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, at Busskelbozow, and so attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred sixtenth & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the first, was taken in the castell of Dunbartaine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Mattheu earle of Lenex, about the murder of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Mattheu, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrick Adamson alias Constance succeeded John Hamilton in the archbishopricke of saint Andrewes, who possessing this place at this daie, and hauing occasioned me to speake of him in severall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is here to be ouerpassed, and therefore I referre thee to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrewes, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in February last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassador from the queene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatcht his ambassage to good effect. During whose abode there, there was an assemblee holden at Edinburgh in Maie, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealth.

The articles concluded in the assemblee holden at Edinburgh in Maie.

First, the whole realme was diuided into 52 presbyteries, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to euery presbyterie.

T.ij.

2 That

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesday of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assemblee in the yeare, the first of October next insuing.

4 All assemblies do consist of these persons, the pastoz, doctoz, and elders, & all the thre to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie lutes in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the thre afoze specified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastoz, doctoz, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastoz or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastoz.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldship as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did appertene onelie to a pastoz or pastozs sent from the assemblee, and not else.

7 That when euer the assemblee maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, trial of ministers, deposing them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest iudgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand until the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblee, being a pastoz, as pastoz shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblee, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblee, of thome he receiued the same.

10 If he admit or do any thing without consent of his assemblee, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receiue shall be *Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis*.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not presudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitozs appointed by the generall assemblee for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblee shall appoint.

14 That no commission giuen by ante in times past before the date of this assemblee shall be vassable, but such onlie as the said assemblee shall appoint. In which assemblee also it seemeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, whereupon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the prejudice of his metropolitane iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall assemblee, touching the bishop of S. Andrews, at the desire of the kings maiestie.



If the bishop by his owne hand writing or personall appearance in the assemblee, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publike lie professed or meant in anie sort to claime a supremaie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer auowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so done, it had bene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall as-

semblee he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the oversight thereof, and promise good behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he willie may by God his word, and according to the last conference, and endenour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderate person, and so serue, as that he may proue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblee without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yeld to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand thereunto, which done, the said assemblee at Edinburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind: obedience to his maiestie, in annulling the procelle of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assemblee at Edinburgh, concerning the restitution of the bishop of S. Andrews.

WE his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what god will we would obete his helres so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for god hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building up of the house of God within this realme, and because the procelle of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie god causes were conuenient to be remoued, we will forebare to examine the said procelle, or decide it, whatsoever prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said procelle, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects afoze said, and upon god and twelghtie considerations, we hold the said procelle and sentence as vnlaid, vnderduted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said procelle and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no procelle nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Providing alwaies he obserue what hath bene promised by him in the premises, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (hauing a commission directed to him, to William lord Cues, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwik as his maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Cues, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwik the place appointed where this league should be fullie stablished. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equal honor and authority, appointed to come to Berwik for Scotland. But some delate being made of their appearance, and manie excuses therewith to intertine time by messengers vsed, at the length commeth to Berwik Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boyd, and

and Sir James Hume of Golden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensive and offensive betwene these two nations; which done, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leave of the king, whom when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftenth of August, where I will now leave him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certaine verses which Buchanan dedicated unto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet because they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the young Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

*Sape tibi Randolphe iubet me pingere regem,
Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.
Accipe: sit primium vera pietatis amator,
Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,
Pacem amet: & si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,
Exuat in victos arma, odiūque simul.
Nolo nimis parvus, nimium sit nolo benignus,
Vtraque regno aqua est exitiosa lues,
Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,
Et se communem diuibus esse patrem:
Puniat iniustus, cum res iubet esse severum,
Publica cum poscent commoda lenis erit.
Firmat, ut exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,
Sit vultus prauis terror, amorque bonis,
Excolat impense ingenium, corpusque modeste,
Luxuriam frangat cum ratione pudor:
Iam tacitus tecum, sentias me fallere, tanquam
In tabula nostram, qui mihi pingit heram.*

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassado sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassado being called monsieur W'annauall had at this time small interteinment in Scotland; where not staing long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, having married the daughter of the lord Woid was slain in this sort. The earle being a goodlie young gentleman, and like to proue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about five or six miles fro his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enemies, he was in his forneie towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the saterables of the Countie; at what time he was most miserable slain by them to their great dishonor, and his countries discommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Dowglass (who as you heard before departing this realme in April last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassado from the king of Scots to the queene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Purro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglass nephew unto the same Archibald. Which ambassado after his coming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsor, on the first of the same moneth of September, with whom remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender dis-

course. Thus hauing patched up a Rapshodie of some few things done in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so nakedly deliuered by me, I determine to knit up all that fouer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinger to do, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphaell Holinshed. For hauing there closed up that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written any thing concerning England, so will I wrap up these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lessus and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottish kings.

Before I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by waie of impeaching ante glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (saing correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transference them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they seme vnto me (holding the same for this present untill I may see good authoritie to disproue it) to be ouer conuetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I do verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For untill late yerres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scotti or Scots; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, do challenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for challenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogate from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, first leaving it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbiter betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, Fergusius, who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lessus saith three hundred and five before Christ, did write Leges politicæ lib. 1. This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Stanhurst in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Feguarus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whom some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more

part suppose to haue bene an Irishman, was in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned nere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Upon whose mishap these verses following were made:

Icarus Icaris vt nomina fecerat vndis,

Fergusus petra sic dedit apta suæ.

Iosina.

Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after *Fergusus* the first, who flourished in the yeare of the world, as hath *Gesnerus*, three thousand eight hundred twentieth and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seuen, as the same author saith; but one hundred three score and one as hath *Lesleus* lib. 2. pag. 89 did write *De viribus herbarum* lib. 1.

Ethodius.

Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musicke) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath *Lesleus*, but one hundred ninetie and six, as hath *Gesnerus*; saith by a musician of the *Hebrides*, did write *Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas*.

Celcius Sedulius.

Celcius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath *Gesnerus*, which flourished about the yeare of Christ foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of *Fergusus* the second, and *Eugenius* the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to *Hildebert* a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of *Hildebert* for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Asia, as hath *Lesleus* lib. 4. pag. 134. Whome the pope *Gelasius* wondering at his vertue and writing was wont to call *Venerabilem*, or worthy reuerence, as our English *Bede* is accustomed to be termed. This *Sedulius* did write *Carmen paschale* lib. 4. which books are intituled *Libri mirabilium diuinorum*. Besides, he penned *Annotationes in omnes Pauli epistolas*, printed at *Basil* by *Henric Pater*, *Hymnum de seruatore*. *Ad Theodosium Cæsarem* lib. 1. In ædificationem *Donati* lib. 1. In *Prisciani* volumen lib. 1. *Exhortatorium ad fideles* lib. 1. *De Christo* lib. 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

Merlinus Calidonius.

Merlinus Calidonius otherwise called *Merlinus Syluestris*, or *Uplandish* (a different person from him which is called *Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus*) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet *Telefinus*. This *Merline Calidon* erected manie prodigies or strange things against the English *Saxons*, which man flourishing about the yeare of Christ five hundred and seuentie, did write *De vaticinijs* lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

Columbanus.

Columbanus, whome *Gesnerus*, *Bede*, and the Irish historians affirme to be an Irishman borne in Ulster, but *Sixtus Senensis* in his *Bibliotheca sancta*, *Lesleus*, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being *Abbas Luxuriensis*, as hath *Gesnerus*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and *Lesle*, being a place in Burgundie, which abbete he built (by the permission of *Theodoricus* the king) together with the abbete of *Fontenelle* in France. This man at the first held the feast of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in the end was reduced thereunto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint *Gall*, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of *Bobiens*, or (as hath *Marianus*) of *Bouiens*, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentieth daie of Nouember. He flourished in the time of *Conballus* king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption five hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, *Comentaria in totum psalterium* lib. 1. *Epistolarum* lib. 1. *Monasteriorum methodos* lib. 1. *Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum* lib. 1. *De moribus monachorum metricè* lib. 1. *Collationes ad monachos* lib. 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish affirme to be borne in Linster, but *Gesnerus* and *Lesle* with the Scots do affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by *Gesner* called *Brigida Lagenensis*, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of *Part*, as hath *Lesleus* lib. 4. pag. 149. she flourished about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and eight, as hath *Lesleus*, in the reigne of *Conballus* king of Scots; some other saie she flourished in the yeare five hundred and ten, *Gesnerus* in the yeare of Christ five hundred and eightene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darkie and full of mysteries, which books *Lesleus* will not haue to be written by this *Brigida* Scottish woman, but by *Briget* called *Brigida Suetica* that flourished manie yeres after this Scottish *Briget*, writing thus: *Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multe inscribuntur, quidam confundunt: siquidè multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt ubique prosecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quam in vilius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostræ eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hactenus purantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen challenge hir with *Columbanus* and *Patricius* to be buried in Ireland, which verses are thus:*

Hi tres in Duno tumultu tumulantur in vno,

Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.

Malculphus or *Malculus* Scotus, as *Gesnerus* termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord six hundred foure score and nine, he writ *De Paschatis obseruatione*, whome I take to be *Malculphus*, who was notable learned in the Greeke and Latine, first a scholemaster, and after abbat of *Palmsburie* called in the beginning *Maidulphi curia*, or *Malculphurte*, after the name of this *Malculphus*, who as hath *Lesleus* lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and firstene. Now it is certaine both by our and the Scottish chronicles, that *Malculphus* the builder of *Palmsburie* monasterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord six hundred three score and nine, as hath *Gesnerus* out of *Bale*, but *Lesleus* affirmeth him to liue in the government of *Chyinus*, which died in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred three score and two, being the thirtieth yere of his reigne. This *Kilianus* did write *Contra peregrinos cultus*, lib. 1. *Gesner* also out of *Mat. Dresserus* nameth *Lecturâ Kiliani super magistrâ sententiarum*, which peradventure might be this *Kilianus* the Scot.

Jonas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat *Columbanus*, flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath *Gesnerus*, he writ *Vitam sancti Columbani* lib. 1. *Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis* lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath *Gesner* out of *Bale*, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderato, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of *Iona*, who flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eightene, and writ *De locis terræ sanctæ* lib. 1. *De situ Ierusalem* lib. 1. *De pascheta legitimo* lib. 1. *Epistolas multas*. From this mans works *Bede* affirmeth that he had

had manie things which he inserted in his owne booke. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Potheshire belonging to the bishopricke of Poike, and now at this daie is in English called Catwold.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the first king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Lesleus, notable borne, who travelling into strange countries, converted manie from paganism into Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Bzulchius the famous river in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gelsnerus: Florentius Volufenus Scotus scripsit theologicā orationē siue cōmendationem piā & eruditā; Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi tranquillitate carmen ibidem excusum 1543: & Basilæ apud Ioannē Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artullus, or Artullis a worthy gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person borne in Scotland, flourished, as hath Gelsnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to have lived in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he farther saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred thre score and two, this Artullus writ De rebus mathematicis librū vnū, ad Adelmum episcopum lib. 1.

Sedulius Junior being bishop of the south Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habiti, and lived in the yere of Christ seven hundred and fouretene.

Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witness of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scottish blood, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to convert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hessis, & Austrasionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, messem longē copiosissimā collegat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thence into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yere of Christ seven hundred fiftie and five, who being a monke of the order of saint Benet, did write; Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Mailrose whom Gelsnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, lived in the time of Donald the first of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Rosse, and also flourished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Græke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Dents into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de san-

cto Victore, a most notable diuine. Shortly after which, the said John was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulate so worthy a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settled a perfect league betwene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, intertained by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe scholemaster and instructor.

But shortly after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Palmesburie, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certene scholars of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpe rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as saith Lesleus. Which John, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authority of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordaining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and doings thus writeth Gelsnerus in these words: Ioannes Mailrosius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit super canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuisione lib. 1. De primo rerū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditissimas lib. 1. De Germani, iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem libros Dionysij Areopagite in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dress.

Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie & siue, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expressed by Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Gelsnerus: Kennethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scripsit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iuriconsulti vtuntur. But in that Gelsner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie serueth) that euer the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & bene enforced to obteine the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their superiour lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now woyn the same out of vse.

Claudius Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in bibliotheca sancta: he was verie studious in the scriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowledges, who living in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose write manie learned works, whereof these are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Mattheum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Beornillus bishop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the lines of the archbishops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scotorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeus carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam laceffuit: which Beornillus was also at the councill of Calne in Wiltshire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred thre score and seuentene. For Alfritha the quene procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he should labor to haue this Beornill to be present there, which this bishop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of monks in their houses.

Leuitus

Lennius archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to have written ten certaine homilies; he flourished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand and seuen, under the gouernment of Crine and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foytie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slaine by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus.

Marianus Scotus is called, because that he was borne in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and continual hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foytie and six, he forsooke his countrie, and first came vnto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his coming thither, had the gouernment of the same abbey. After which, Marianus went to Mentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he thortlie after died, who (flourishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him these woorks of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali. Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolae hortatorias, obiit Maguntiz, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus.

Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrews, who being in life in the yeare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixteene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Canmor, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scotorum regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensis lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not anie Margaret quene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

Dauid Scotus.

Dauid Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe Dauid Scotus, and next Dauid presbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was first scholemaster at Melicburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the first the emperour, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspergensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iourneys which the emperour Henrie the first made into Italie after the pacification had betwene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmesburie to saie thus much of him in his first booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cæsariibus in nulla virtute deieciatior, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subiugaturus, quæstionemque de inuestitura suo libito recisurus; sed iter illud ad Romani magnis exercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporum consummatum. Dauid Scotus Banchorensis episcopus exposuit, magis regis gratiam quam historicum deceret accluius. He liued and pre-

spersed about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotia lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I doe not as yet find anie mention in Gesner, but in John Maier and Lesleus) liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder Dauid the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, as well in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set forth manie woorks to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Witor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be seene with this epitaph recited by Iohn Maier in his memorialis:

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Pulueris hic tegeris doctæ Richardus sit:*

*Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.*

*Nili tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec flamina paruo
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.*

*Segnior ut lento sceleratas mors petit edes,
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu.*

Walter the bassard sonne of Dauid the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the baine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholly consecrat to holie exercises and offices, being first indowed with the rich carionrie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishop-

rike of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrose, wherevnto being preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeyes. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simplie suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and thre, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesner writeth in this sort: Gualternus Albanensis monachus scripsit de libris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Balcus.

Thomas Liermant alias Crilston being borne in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certaine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curtaine) foetell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose woords obteined the more authoritie and credit, because he had foetold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and thre. He wrote Prædictiones rerum Scotticarum rhythmicis versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Rhythmicus, or the Rimer, liuing some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to flourish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Epiphanius

Michael
Medicus.

Michael Medicus, being a learned man in all philosophy, astronomie, and the other mathematicas, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twice mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flourished in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290; being an old man, he wrote In gratia Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteoris lib. 4. De constitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De celo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substantia orbis lib. 1. De sensu & sensato lib. 2. De memoria & remiscencia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteoris lib. 1. Imagines astronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De signis planetarum lib. 1. De chironantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreuiationes Auicennae lib. 1. De animalibus ad Casarem lib. 1. whose booke of physiognomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptista Sella.

John Duns.

John Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and learned the subtil doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frer minors brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time no long after was there not anie vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two frers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length took the habit and order of the Franciscans, prouing of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtil disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frer minors, where when he had for some space remained, and read vnto them of scholasticall matters, he traueld to Cullen, and there vntimely died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283; of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as saith Leslius lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotists or Scotists as all they of an other faction are surnamed Thomists or the Thomists, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulie the same cannot stand with anie reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, sith both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, do challenge him to be their countreiman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countreie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Cyprians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countreiman. But the Smirniens were so stiffly bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and thereupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countreiman so euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound cleark. The onelie fault therewith he was duked,

was a little spice of bawling, being giuen to carpe and talon his predecessours diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Stanihurst. Now the booke which he wrote were these: Super sententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Comentariorum Oxoniensium lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. In metaphysica quaestione lib. 1. 2. Quaestiones vniuersaliu li. 2. Quaestiones praedicamentoru lib. 1. In analytica posteriora lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categorias eiusdem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrammatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose tooke thus further writeth Gesn. Iohannis Scoti sententiarum interpreti primaeuam sacratissimi Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cum alteri euidam Iohanni Scoto (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui istu multis saeculis antecessit, & Athenis Graece didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man se Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honesta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of St. Denis out of Greeke into Latine.

Thomas Warreie or Warreite flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at that time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine rime beginning in this sort: *Musare fert fatum fore scriptum carmine vatums*. Who being maister and ruler of Wethwallie, is not greatly esteemed of the Scottish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

Thomas
Warreie.

William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I do find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, set downe within these four lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same autho: in this sort. Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, & conciliorum scriptis antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum scriptura librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valde Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Gesnerus.

William
Elphinstone.

James Stewart the first of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his native soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue bene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was John Stewart, and not James. This man in the time whilst he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countreie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirtenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

James Stewart.

Iohannes Pato: borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta doth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought vp in Oxford, where attaining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obtaining further knowledge.

Iohannes
Pato.

ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne woorkes. He was borne at Haddington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Haddingtonensis, he did write Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Mathæum, Historiarum maioris Britannia lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum transtulit lib. 7. He flourished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred & twentie, vnder James the first king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his stoyle of Britaine, concerning England and Scotland. There is one John spalos bouché and aledged in Crisopasto Ioan. Eccij, which I doe take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John spalos in this manner: Iohannes Maior Angelus scripsit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by spalos himselfe wherein he should liue. Of which spalos Buchanan hath verie scoffinglie set downe these foure verses here vnder written as followeth:

*Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Maior,
Nec se in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulus quod se veracibus ornat,
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.*

William Gregorie.

William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie books behind him which he had carefully and learnedlie written, whereof these are the titles: De duplici potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Quaestiones vespérales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi æterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturæ sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicū lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius.

Hector Boetius of Dundee in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scottish historie. He flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and six, vnder James the first king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but let downe Gesnerus woords: Hector Boetius Deidonatus, natione Scotus, scripsit catalogum regum Scotiae. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historiarum Scotorum excusæ sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiarum libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem, Accessit & huic editioni eiusdem Scotorum historiarum continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedemontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita fol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawine Dowglas.

Gawine Dowglas, borne of the noble house of the Dowglases in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld, who for contention betwene him and the gouernour of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and one, in the

time of James the first of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comœdias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrum sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

David Lindsay of the mount of hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his woorks written in his owne tong in verse, which were Acta sui temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragedia Davidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of David Beton cardinal be not all one) Testamentum psalici lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientia lib. 1. Somnium Davidis Lindseij lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginae Magdalene lib. 1. Of most of which his woorks Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he flourished in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred and fortie, in the time of James the first king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindsay was brought up, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court.

Patrike Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephew of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lescles lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fencensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the first of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse books, amongst which were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Iohannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Custard Altus, a Prophet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which contained one booke; besides which also he did write another booke Contra Antiscotum of this Prophet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie vnder James the first.

John Bellendon or Ballentine, who flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the first, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scottish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Mouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismus fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots.

John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, being the first yere of Marie queene of Scots, did apply his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Selmo duke of Summerfet protector of England.

John Packebate called in Latine Ioannes Machabæus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie, who flourishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, being the eight yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.

John Packebate borne in Scotland, did flourish in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh.

George Chanan.

John

John

John

John Packebate

both one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, being the fiftieth yeare of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots: This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same John Wabsteth before touched, did write Anglorum ecclesiaz originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem suae fidei lib. 1.

George Buchanan.

George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatly learned, but manie times maliciously affected, and that to vehemently, as that he would not forbear in the highest degree of malice to upbraid and backbite euerie person and nation which had offended him, as male appears by his inuictest speeches, not bestowing a man of his learning. Was schoolmaster to James the first of that name king of Scotland, of whom living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and thirtene, I will forbear to saie what I could, least I might offend in that which I will like in him, & therefore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grammatices Latinae Thomae Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ca Nicol Brilingerus impressit Basiliae anno 1542: extant eius & elegantissima poemata, Iephthes tragedia, Lutetia apud Vascosanum. Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum poemata, Basiliae apud Guarinum an. 1568. Eiusdem psalteriorum paraphrasis poetica, Geneuae, Argentinae, Antuerpiae impressa in 8 & 16: eiusdem Baptistes sine calumnia tragedia, in 8. Francofae apud Wechelium. De iure regni apud Scotos editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. Psalmi Davidis ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primum modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati 4 Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarum historia lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knoke

John Knoke bozne in Scotland, a great enemy to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles James, the first of that name king of Scotland, and writt manie booke in the Scottish English, amongst which were Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiae epistola 1. Ad ecclesias afflictas epist. 1. Ad Scotiae reginam Mariam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustis epist. 1. Bucinae afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sententia clerici lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiae libri vnum. He lived in the yeare of Christ 1569.

John Langeie

John Langeie a Scot bozne, following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and John Calvin, and of manie other ministers of the new gospel (as he scornefully termed it) which booke were out of French turned into Latine, and latelie into the Germane tongue, printed in 4 at Ingelsfate in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and two.

John Durie.

Iohannes Durzus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Dureus, being bozne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Durie, was brought up in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Jesuit, who now living did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, write a booke which was intituled Confutatio responsonis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanae ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunellus, In clauso Brunello sub signo oluaz.

Patrick Adamson.

Patrick Adamson living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and thirtene, did write certaine verses, whereof this was the title

and effect, as hath Gesnerus, Patricij Adamsoni gratiarum actio illariff. & potentiff. principi Elizabethae Angl. Franc. & Hiberniae reginae, propter liberatam ciuili seditione Scotiae, & redactam munificentiam Edinburgi arcem sub fide regis carmen elegiacum, which man being now living, is archbishop of saint Andrews.

Patrick Cockburne bozne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, did write, De uilitate & excellentia uerbi Dei, which was printed at Paris by Michaele Fezandate, and Robert Crauon, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. He writt also De vulgari sacrae scripturae phrasi, lib. 2. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the holie ghost, which they call irremitable or unto death: the second booke doth with great diligence and fidelitie unfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie entile understood, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Spessiline in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

Patrick Cockburne.

John Bessie sometime officiall of Aberdeen, and bishop of Ross, of whom I haue spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauor and furtherer of the Romane religion doth yet live in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie & six, in the time of Charles James the first king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflicti animi consolationes diuinaeque remedia lib. 1. Animi tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 10. printed at Rome.

Ninianus Winzetus.

Ninianus Winzetus, who flourished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred thre score and one, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, was a fauor of the popes doctrine, and enemy to John Knoke, touching whom I will set down the words of two seuerall authors, whereof the one is Lellus a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: Haec res (which was a disputation in religion) Niniano Winzeto maximam apud haereticos inuidiam conflauit, unde cum audirent illum (Ninian Winzet) iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitaret cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendo, typographo multando. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scoti typographi bonis multatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quem tanto pece cupiebant, praeforibus magistratui occurrentem quod incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent haeretici, ridet Catholici. On the other side thus writteth Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renfrous, S. theologiae doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponae, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis praetextu iam in Caesare aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare student, quarentes ineptissime quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendum. Accessit velutatio in Georg. Buchan. circa dialogum, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadt ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Blackwood bozne in Scotland in Dumfermling, was brought up in Paris, where attending to manie degrees of learning, is now living, being advanced to the place of one of the chiefe counsellors of Postiers. This man hath learnedly written manie works, amongst which are his booke De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciae, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis (after that Charles James the first, attained to the crowne) Scotiae. Besides which having written against the work of Buchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writteth against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Adam Blackwood.

Andrew Melvill one of the presbyterie in Scotland.

Andrew Melvill.

land, and one who came thither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, hath written manye epigrames, and amongst the rest, one inuective against the goodly mother, to the king of France, which beginneth *Viperæ cum catulis*.

James Erie. James Erie dīd (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who coming to Paris, travelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Calvin; he flourish'd in the yeate of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and one, vnder Marie quēne of Scots, and dīd write *Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responso ad Knoxium lib. 1.*

Charles James.

Charles James the first of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward young prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, dīd in his youngest yeares about the age of seuentēne or eighttēne, write a booke of verses in his mother tongue, containing many matters of sundrie rare inventions, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close by the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it by with a king.

Thus setting end to my travels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the matter of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helpe, & intelligences would permit) I desire the reader to take it in good part, remembering that *Vltra posse non est esse*, sith according to our old proverbe, A man cannot pipe without his wyper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anye more subiect wherupon to worke, I can doe no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledg. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that In magnis voluisse sat est; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy favorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anye of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue done maye well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more leisure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (*Ab sit verbis philautia*) as maye both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my paince, and to my friends. For though I maye seeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, *Nunquam minus sum otiosus quam cum sum otiosus*.

Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.

